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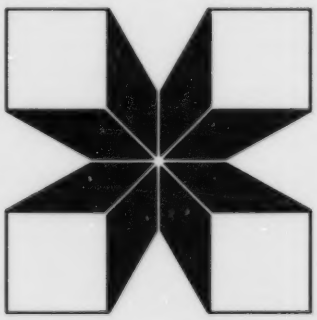

CANADA

COMMUNICATION PROCESSES: ALTERNATIVE CHANNELS AND STRATEGIES FOR DEVELOPMENT SUPPORT

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Communication Processes: Alternative Channels and Strategies for Development Support

Selected papers prepared for a seminar held in Nairobi, Kenya, November 14-16, 1990

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PREFACE

Communication resources and instruments have been recognized as being a significant input in the process of national socio-economic, cultural and political development. This recognition underlies the investment made in and the resources allocated to the development of communication systems throughout the world. The recognition similarly explains the many research endeavours - policy-related as well as theoretical - and conceptual discussions which aim at formulating strategies that will enhance the contribution and effectiveness of communication in the development process.

In the African region, for example, communication scholars, researchers and educators have on many occasions discussed the issue of the role of communication in societal development. However, very few of the fora where these issues are discussed have involved researchers and professionals in other disciplines or indeed brought together researchers, educators and professionals working in various areas across different media.

One of these rare occasions was a seminar organized jointly by the African Council for Communication Education (ACCE) and the Communications Division of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) Regional Office for Eastern and Southern Africa. The seminar, which was held in Nairobi, Kenya, November 14 - 16, 1990, was attended by more than 30 media practitioners, trainers and researchers in a variety of communication disciplines and media forms from Botswana, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The main objectives of the seminar were :

1. to promote the sharing of experience in various fields of communication among recognized experts and academics in Eastern and Southern Africa;

2. to provide a forum for the exchange of experience among communications leaders and across communication media;

3. to develop a critical assessment by recognized communications practitioners of alternative channels and strategies for development support through analysis of national and/or sub-regional experiences and case studies, and

4. to analyse future alternatives in the selection and use of specific communication strategies applicable to both ACCE and IDRC.

The seminar participants presented 17 papers which dealt with a variety of issues related to multi-media approaches and implications for development in Africa. At the end of the three-day paper presentation, discussion and seminar, it was clear that the effectiveness of communication media in the dissemination of development information depends on various factors.

These include :

* *the selection of appropriate media;*

* *the creation of a participatory communication environment;*

* *a recognition of the socio-cultural context of the audience and setting of the message;*

* *an appropriate symbiosis between traditional and modern communication forms and content;*

* *the setting up and appropriate use of rural community-based newspapers, radio stations and other small-scale, localized and group media, and*

* *the use of multiple strategies and different media channels for disseminating information geared towards development.*

Equally significant was the realization:

(i) of the need for an alternative model of information dissemination that can reduce existing imbalances between urban and rural communities in African countries, and

(ii) that a pre-requisite in the flow of information for development is the use of media formats which facilitate grassroots-level communication.

The present publication carries the edited versions of a sample of the papers prepared for and presented at the seminar. The selected papers provide a comprehensive coverage of the issues discussed and the overall conclusions of the seminar.

"The Dilemma of Appropriate Media Selection for Dissemination of Development Information", by Nancy George examines the diversity of options and the inherent dilemma facing media professionals and development workers in determining the appropriate media to use in disseminating information about research findings and advances in technology to development beneficiaries. The paper argues that the effectiveness of the media in disseminating development information depends less on the technology than on the human factor, that is, the skills and creativity of those who design and produce media messages, and on a thorough understanding of the cultural context or landscape and characteristics of the audience.

Wilna Quarmyne, in "Towards a More Participatory Communication Environment: Cross-Linking Establishment and Alternative Media", takes issue with the conventional definition of development and contends that development should be about creating an alternative version of human society. Quarmyne suggests the creation of alternative movements within the establishment media and the use of group media to empower both media professionals and the excluded groups in the society. To forge an alternative development ethic and to

create a participatory communication environment, the author proposes the 'explosion' of certain myths about development and a cross-link between the establishment and alternative media based on a common faith in people.

The definition of development as "the blooming of a community", provided by Didier Rapanoel in "The Contribution of Oral Traditions and Mother Tongues to... Rural Communities", set the context for the consideration of media forms dedicated to information dissemination for community improvement in the seminar. It is a metaphor all those who claim development is their business would do well to remember.

In his paper, "Rural Newspaper Fora: Another Model of Communication for Development", Francis Kasoma presents a conceptual analysis of the contributions of rural newspapers in development. He proposes that people who reside in rural communities can use rural newspaper fora as a rallying point for both formal and informal discussions with development workers and agents.

The paper by Gervas Moshiro, "The Impact of Information on Rural Development: A Case Study of the Community Media for Rural Development Project" discusses a Tanzanian project aimed at:

(i) reducing the urban domination of media and media content by establishing direct links with selected villages through localized broadcasts, radio newscasts, features, newsletters, posters and billboards, video, film and other audio-visual facilities, and

(ii) collecting and disseminating in the communities relevant information, especially related to agricultural production and storage, nutrition, health, environmental management and child survival.

Moshiro also provides findings from an evaluation of the project's impact - findings which demonstrate the appropriate-

ness of community media in communicating development information in rural areas.

Mary Ngechu's paper "The Evolution of Communication Processes and Strategies: The Case of the Schools Broadcasting Division of Kenya" reviews the changes that occurred in schools broadcasting in Kenya from 1975 to 1987 and the factors which contributed to transforming it from a mainly centralized one-way system to one of participatory communication. She highlights and discusses such issues pertaining to the effective use of radio in schools as

(i) training of producers;

(ii) research and evaluation;

(iii) programme production and presentation;

(iv) language of broadcasts;

(v) the role of classroom teachers;

(vi) availability of support materials, and

(vii) appropriate scheduling of broadcasts.

In her paper "Development Through Radio", Mavis Moyo provides a case study of the use of radio for development purposes. The paper describes a project which aims at creating access to radio for women in rural communities and helping them to identify their problems and to use the radio to communicate such problems to policy makers. The project, which was started in 1986 by the Federation of African Media Women in Zimbabwe, in collaboration with various organizations and government ministries, is based on the concept and practice of radio listening clubs. The paper also discusses the progress of the project as well as its limitations and problems.

The two other papers, although prepared for the seminar, were not presented because of the inability of the authors to attend. Nevertheless, they contain interesting empirical data on how two communication media, one traditional (popular theatre) and the other modern (television) can be successfully

employed to carry development-oriented messages.

Penina M. Mlama bases her paper "Women as Communicators: The Potential in the Popular Theatre" on the thesis that the selection of media for development communications often ignores those media which facilitate active participation of women and afford them the opportunity to express their views and ideas on societal development concerns. The findings of her comparative analysis of the media used in a child survival programme disseminated through popular theatre in Tanzania indicate, inter alia, that:

(i) women's participation as speakers in public meetings was minimal;

(ii) women's contribution at seminars carried out at health posts was limited, and

(iii) women had little access to radio and newspapers used in the programme.

On the other hand, the use of popular theatre (dance, drama, story-telling etc.) facilitated the participation of women in information-gathering, discussions, theatre creation and performance related to child survival problems. Mlama also looks at salient factors in the popular theatre process which enhance or impede participation by women.

The final paper by Farag M. Elkamel, "Television Advertising for National Development", presents three case studies from Egypt on the use of television in promoting social development. The paper examines findings from public health campaigns carried out on oral rehydration treatment (1983-1990), family planning (1987-1990) and the use of family planning clinics (1988-1990), in which television advertising was found to be effective in increasing knowledge, and changing attitudes and behaviour regarding infant diarrheal illness and family planning.

We hope that communication researchers, practitioners and development workers, as well as media policy and decision-makers, will find this report useful and that it will contribute to the current debate and the concerted efforts to design and set up appropriate media channels to promote development as well as formulate and implement relevant communication strategies in support of development in Africa.

We would like to express our gratitude to Patricia Hughes Scott for the assistance in editing and preparing this report.

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Towards a More Participatory Communication Environment: Cross-linking Establishment and Alternative Media

by

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Introduction

All the new technologies of communication have been abused, for political control (as in propaganda) or for commercial profit (as in advertising). We can protest against such uses, but unless we have a clear alternative version of human society we are not likely to make our protest effective. (Raymond Williams)

In recent years, communication scholars have taken to describing their field as in "ferment". The theme of this seminar is itself an indication of that ferment. But if the ferment is not to fizzle out, then it will be necessary to come to terms with the fact that the basic issue is not about alternative channels and strategies, but about an "alternative version of human society".

Development should really be about the process of creating this "alternative version of human society". As Quabral (1987) puts it,

> *development would not be the human goal that it is without an accompanying vision of what makes a better life for the individual or the society and the appropriate ways of moving towards it.*

But what really is the true face of development? Martin de Graaf (1987) etches it in straightforward terms:

> *No statistics on the GNP, no degree of modernization, no national economic data or political slogans will describe this essence of development: people, and <u>their</u> strengths to define, defend and improve their lives.*

On paper, de Graaf's statement is not very different from the words speech-writers put into politicians' mouths when they speak of involving the masses in the development effort. Words are, after all, among the easiest of things to co-opt. But the actual practice of allowing people to become the subjects rather than merely being treated as objects of their development separates the converted from the "con" men. It is this difference that determines whether the development that is

on offer actually represents an alternative version of human society or merely a whitewash of the current version. It is in this sense that development can be equated with that Marcusian Utopia summarized by Hamelink (1983): "[not] that which is really impossible [but that] which the powers-that-be prevent".

What the powers-that-be prevent is, quite simply, the empowerment of the excluded. The excluded - not the politician or party currently out of power, not military rule as opposed to civilian - but the rural poor, the urban destitute, the elderly, children, women.

To be alternative is to identify with the excluded

The search for an alternative version of society based on the empowerment of the excluded is what distinguishes the truly alternative media. It is the essence of their development ethic. In the absence of such an ethic, everything else is form.

In 1949, for example, the director of the then Central African Broadcasting Service made what he undoubtedly regarded as a highly liberal statement to support his proposal to introduce an African service. On the face of it, setting up such service where none had existed could have been interpreted to mean that he was offering an alternative medium. But consider what he had to say:

> *I put another point to you. We want a happy and contented African people. Now what can the native do when he has finished his work, his own work or yours? ... most nights he can only go back to his hut.... There, he can talk and think. And one of the things he can talk and think about, not very happily, is how much better off you are than he is....* (Franklin 1949).

In contrast, underlying the development ethic of alternative media is the belief that the people know what is best for them. This extends the notion of participation to include the element of process. Participation and process together enable people not just to be given a place, but to define and claim their own.

Because the establishment media are part of the structure of the powers-that-be, some believe that they can only dish up "development that stinks" - development that keeps people in their place.

> *This is certainly a real danger. As a character in one of a series of books developed for discussion at the village level puts it: "We must be careful! Just as there is false land reform and false educational reform - so there is false communication reform - which pretends to change things without really changing them* (Stewart 1986).

Media professionals are people too

It would be self-defeating, however, to propose, as some do, that the establishment media be abandoned altogether in the struggle for development. The establishment media provide the environment in which alternative media operate. The more participatory that environment, the easier it is for the themes of alternative media to take root. On the other hand, the more repressive or paternalistic that environment, the more it represents a constraint to the tasks of alternative media. One of the more familiar examples of such a con-

straint is the type of conventions the establishment media create, conventions which de–limit expectations and form the habits of audiences, including those of the alternative media.

But even more important is that the establishment media are made up of people. Often, in terms of control of the institutions they work in, most media professionals are themselves part of the excluded. If they do contribute to the entrenchment of traditional power, in many cases they do so not out of design but out of *naivete* or a chronic sense of helplessness. Thus, like the audiences and the base of alternative media, media professionals also have to develop a critical understanding of their condition and to awaken to a sense of their power. They, too, have to be encouraged to become the subjects of their own development. In doing so, they may create alternative movements within the establishment media.

Development has changed, but communication hasn't

As Quabral (1987) observes: "What has been changing mightily is the 'development' in development communication. Communication has merely been keeping in step". It may be more precise to say that communication has been out-of-step. For, broadly speaking, what it is in step with is development theory that has largely been discredited in terms of its impact on the excluded.

As a recent gathering of agencies and individuals working in the field of development communication concluded, "theories of modernization are still pervasive and still exercise the greatest influence on communication models" (Hancock, 1990).

A recent evidence of this in the region is Mohammed's study in Nigeria (1990), where he notes that the syllabi of communication training institutions concentrated almost exclusively on modernization theories, thus projecting what he called "a monolithic perspective on development communication". He went on to note further that the predominance of modernization thinking was such that it subsumed the differences between it and other development theories; for example, that of dominance-and-dependence. Essentially, modernization theory proposes that development can be reduced to, and achieved by, formulae. Not surprisingly, in the light of its dependent relationship on modernization theory, "development communication became a science of producing effective messages" (Hein 1988).

But development communication, it is quite clear, has hardly been effective. People were poor before modernization and development communication, and they are even poorer today. Logically, therefore, modernization theory and its related prescriptions should have been abandoned by now. Yet it continues to be meted out in even stronger doses. In the same way, despite Okigbo's well-reasoned funereal rites (1985), development communication, or what passes for it, is far from dead. It has simply found new ways to legitimize itself.

This is done, Oepen (1990a) has observed,

> *by stressing the potential of the media in development while neglecting their real performance, no matter how centralized, urban, state-run, technology-and-production-oriented given media projects and related training packages and hardware support in the Third World really are, they are usually legitimized through their potential role in a type of idea development policy, a policy as if people mattered (emphasis added).*

This as-if policy is often expressed in words like "two–way communication" and "mobilization". But in "as-if developmentese," two-way communication boils down to people speaking when spoken to and mobilization to doing as told.

During the struggle in the various African countries against formal colonialism, it seems people really did matter. Communication with them was direct and the relationship between them and their leaders was symbiotic. After the struggle had been won, it seemed only fitting that the new leadership should take control of the media, to forestall their manipulation against the people as the colonialists had done.

It may be useful to apply the three hypothetical types of decoding posited by Stuart Hall (1980) to understand the change that has taken place since then. At the time of independence, there was, for all practical purposes, congruence of the people with the encoder, that is with the new powers-that-be. This is the stage when the leadership was perceived to be truly of and for the people. Certain actions soon became suspect, however, and, instead of congruence, there is now adaptation to the encoder's view up to a point. This is the point when people might say of their leadership, "Well, he/she may be for the people but it sure doesn't look like it". Finally, the evidence builds up, suspicion turns to conviction and people develop their own interpretation of the code.

Although they may profess total congruence, the backroom noises made by staff of the establishment media indicate that, like their compatriots, they are in the adaptive stage. One would even venture further to say that they could be receptive to the final stage. That stage, according to Hall, is where they become "part of a popular opposition movement that has developed its own *demythologizing code* (emphasis added)". Developing and popularizing codes is a key task common to truly alternative media.

The process of creating alternative movements within establishment media, therefore, has to start with identifying the myths media professionals cling to in an effort, conscious or not, to legitimize themselves and their operations.

Myths that need exploding

1. Communication for Development Cannot be Neutral

This first myth that has to be exploded is that of neutrality. At a recent workshop attended by women in management positions in the SADCC region (UNESCO 1988), participants were asked to work in groups to define the role of the mass media in development. Common to their definitions was the perception of that role as "central"or "pivotal". They regarded development as requiring "two-way communication", but saw the "central" role of the media as essentially that of a conduit.

It was pointed out that the notion of a conduit implied a non-committal role. The question was raised – if the media are the "centre" or the "pivot" of development, what happens if the forces are not balanced? The answer came swiftly: "the centre will move towards the stronger force".

Discussion had to proceed further, however, before the conclusion was reached: "in a situation where forces are imbalanced, 'neutrality' is effectively a choice for the stronger forces". In other words, by not taking a stand, one effectively takes a stand that is anti-development or anti-people.

2. Development is not given.

The second myth that has to be exploded is that of harmonious development. Development does not happen to

people through a benevolent confluence of forces. Development is achieved by people through the discovery and exercise of their own powers.

Mwalimu Julius Nyerere reiterated this fact in a speech on the need for the development and liberation of women:

> *But this will only happen if the women of Tanzania insist that it happens. The history of the world shows that the oppressed can get allies - and need to get allies - from the dominant group as they wage their struggle for equality, human dignity and progress. But no one, no group, can be liberated by others.*

3. Development cannot be undemocratic

The third myth that has to be exploded is that development can be undemocratic.

Explaining the processes used in the Community Education and Publishing Programme in Zimbabwe, the project co-ordinator noted: "So much development is negated by agencies striving for new goals with methods which negate the goals". Thus, she continued, rather than producing books that talk about democratization, the programme uses democratic processes to produce its books. A single book, for example, is typically the product of hundreds of workshops in all 55 districts of the country. "What comes out of the books", she said, "is more important than the books themselves". (UNESCO 1988)

Ramirez (1990) has drawn a similar conclusion:

> *...it is not so much a particular medium that is important in the social change process as the way in which that particular medium is used. ....the participative element in the production, the message manifested and transmitted, and the use of the medium, reinforcing the humanizing character of the process which itself is a message.*

Countervailing Power

The explosion of these myths provides the basis for forging a development ethic that is alternative in orientation. But exploding myths, while necessary, is, in itself, not sufficient. The idea of development as "that which the powers-that-be prevent" raises the corollary notion of countervailing power.

Addressing this issue, Oepen (1990b) has written:

> *In communications terms "countervailing power" is communication competence, that is, the ability to reflect upon and articulate the key factors, problems, needs and interests of and in daily life in harmony or in contrast with other. As such, communication competence is a prerequisite for social and political competence.*

By this standard, one has to admit, many communication professionals are not communication competent.

Aiming "[to prepare] a given target audience to participate meaningfully in the act of sharing", that is, in the act of communication, James (1986) lists the following as the components of a "receiver-oriented communication education":

> *(a) techniques and experiences which will enable them to become appraisers of ideas;*
>
> *(b) [an] environment which will*

encourage them to seek out the message source;

(c) skills which will enable them to analyse the content of the message, and

(d) opportunities for them to make appropriate responses within the framework of their own goals and those of the community.

Appraising, seeking, analyzing, responding - these are participatory skills. They are precisely the skills needed to become communication competent. But they are skills which not only audiences but communicators themselves need to acquire.

Using Group Media to Change Establishment Media

Participatory skills can developed through Freirian-inspired methods which are sometimes referred to as group media. As Ramirez (1987) describes them:

> *Development communication as an interactive process among the marginalized may be facilitated first by what is known as group media. Defined, it is that medium which is a means for small groups to develop a critical attitude towards the reality of self, the group, community and society through the participation in group interaction. ...As an approach, group media has helped marginal groups to speak to one another, to articulate their thoughts and feelings. As a process, it has been successful in community organizing.*

Media professionals, it is useful to repeat, are marginalized within the context of establishment media organizations. Accustomed to operate in the world of as-if, their capacity to reflect honestly on their condition is very much dulled. And like all marginalized groups at the start, they are fractured and, therefore, effectively isolated from the possibility of organizing.

Group media, therefore, present as promising a process for empowering media professionals as much as other excluded groups.

Why Group Media?

The idea of using group media to develop an alternative orientation in establishment media grew out of a Workshop on Management for Media Women (WoMMen) held in Harare, Zimbabwe (UNESCO 1988). Participants were women in management positions in the media, mainly in corporate organizations like national broadcasting services or bureaucracies like government departments of information. Apart from developing participants' management skills, a major objective of the workshop was to encourage management practices "to promote the participation of rural audiences in the production and distribution of the media".

The workshop ran two parallel programmes. One was a conventional corporate management training package offered by a professional firm. The other involved a tailor-made agenda based mainly on case studies of development communication projects demonstrating widely varying degrees of audience participation and control.

The design of the workshop was based on the initial notion that there was a dichotomy between corporate management skills and development-oriented participatory skills. The dichotomy turned out to be artificial. The factors singled out as responsible for the success of corporate firms were exactly the same elements identified with

genuine alternative media, that is:

(i) the overriding influence on organizational culture of a shared animating vision;

(ii) the central importance of people and

(iii) the need for constant immersion in the everyday conditions of workers and consumers (Peters and Austin 1985).

Communication for Development is a Management Problem

The challenge of communication for development, therefore, can be viewed as a management problem. The vision of an IBM, it is true, is radically different from that of alternative media, but their separate visions infuse their operations with the same characteristic fervour and demand equally specific modes and standards of behaviour. If a multinational corporation and a genuinely alternative medium can share the same qualities for success, what prevents the establishment media from developing the same elements?

Working on these premises, the Federation of African Media Women - Zimbabwe (FAMWZ) mooted a proposal for the preparation of a manual on the management of the media for development. At the time of preparing this paper, the manual was at an exploratory stage. However, it was clear that the central task of the proposed manual would be to help media professionals in establishment media to develop the same clarity of purpose that characterizes an IBM or the alternative media. The first step in this exercise would necessarily have to be the unravelling of the contradictions - the myths - that media professionals have come to accept in their work.

Group media are ideal for this purpose, not only because they are a proven method for developing critical attitudes, but also because they use "transparent" processes that allow for learning of participatory skills even as content is being articulated.

Group media typically use codes to begin to get people to look at their situation with a seeing eye (Hope and Timmel 1984). Something familiar that can be shared - a photograph, a film - provides the basis for questions that help people to penetrate the surface reality of their environment and their actions.

Codes used in this way are, therefore, subversive - in the sense defined by Cardinal Arns of Brazil (1985): "Subvert only means to turn a situation around and look at it from the other side". In a situation, therefore, where other codes have been used to "prescribe social reality as an objective fact to which (people) must adapt" (Hamelink, 1983), it becomes productive to take these same codes and subvert them to enable people to unmask the reality and begin to explore how to change it.

Subverting Lasswell's code

A code ripe for subversion, for example, is Lasswell's model of Sender-Message-Channel-Receiver-Effect. Although now widely discredited by communication scholars, it is still the model most readily quoted by communication practitioners and students to describe the communication process. Linked to questions such as the assumed or overt goal and motivation of the sender or source, the use of the S-M-C-R-E code can highlight startling contradictions between intended and actual effect.

On the simplest level, one could, using the S-M-C-R-E code for content analysis, elicit the following glaring comparisons between establishment and alternative media: *(Table 1)*

Table 1

Revisions to Lasswell's Code

	Establishment Media	Alternative Media
Sender (Source)	Ministers - those with a monopoly on knowledge	The people: every one is a potential producer
Message	We know best what is good for you	You have the capacity to create your destiny
Channel	Designed to sustain the mystique of superior knowledge	Designed to provide access to all
Receiver (as perceived by Source)	Ignorant, apathetic, gullible	A potential ally in building shared capacity
Effect	Keep people in their place and control the rate and direction of change	Build self-confidence and release untapped potential for creative change

Cross-linking Establishment and Alternative Media

Concluding Remarks

The processes described are the same processes that lead to the development of alternative movements and alternative media. They are the same processes that cultivate a "development ethic" whose hallmark is faith in the people. Media professionals are people too. Therefore, faith in people must also include them.

That faith is the essential cross-link between establishment and alternative media. Working in conjunction with each other, they can then create a more participatory communication environment. In the process, they may forge deeper alliances with the people and with them steadily widen the political space (Wignaraja 1984) for the excluded ❑

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The Contribution of Oral Traditions and Mother Tongues to the Communication Strategy in Rural Communities

by

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Introduction

We need to state from the beginning that the main purpose of an alternative communication strategy in rural communities must be the development of these communities. However, most development strategies and actions have more or less failed for a variety of reasons, including lack of development credits for peasants, mismanagement of development funds and communication problems.

This paper will mainly make proposals based on various experiences and observations. The approach used here is qualitative since most of what is presented is the result of a posteriori analysis of facts, and personal reflections.

Importance of Oral Traditions

Oral traditions can be considered as an important, if not the only, source of traditional and popular knowledge, practices and attitudes towards life in general. Oral traditions are comprised of epics, songs, dances, folktales, riddles, proverbs, and poetry. An interesting feature is the fact that, in most cases, all these genres are linked by a coherent cosmology which enables modern researchers in the social sciences to determine the overall vision of generations long past.

By tradition, the rural world generally lived in autarchy, and the use of money or its equivalent was rather rare. Barter, of goods or services, was the main way of trade. It was through colonization that the rural world was compelled to enter into the modern market economy with all the subsequent changes. Indeed, there is now a hiatus between the traditional philosophy of co-operation and community solidarity on the one hand, and the demands of

modern economy for the other. The modern rural world is, therefore, torn between a way of life which is no longer, though all the words for it are still there and alive, and another way of life whose language is unknown or strange.

A more serious problem is the discourse of both the colonizers and the modern development promoters who try to impose their language and techniques on the peasant.

What Development is for the Peasants

Development, as a concept, has been given numerous and varied definitions. We will use the term here to refer to the satisfaction of the conditions which allow *the blooming of a community, at individual and community levels.* The problems discussed in this paper stem from the above definition insofar as it contradicts the views of those development experts who assume that:

(i) technological innovations can boost up backward communities;

(ii) a rational economy based on western models is the best for the peasants, and,

(iii) external aid is the solution to development problems.

Unfortunately, these conceptions ignore the established power structure, social relations, and existing values and mechanisms of rural communities.

The peasant is first a practical person who must strive to survive with the means and technical knowledge at his disposal. He is definitely interested in improving his crop yield, in reducing physical strain, in increasing his capital (e.g. cattle, land, houses), in educating his children if he believes in modern education, (otherwise, as happened in some parts of Madagascar until recently, he would give the teacher a few of his cows for the latter to officially enrol the child in a class but not to demand his actual presence during the academic year), in improving transport networks and facilities, and in some health care that is not too frightening or strange. In short, the peasant is not impervious to development; however, for cultural and practical reasons, he is rather selective or suspicious of some aspects of the new way of life.

Communication's Contribution to the Failure of Development Schemes

Language Reflects Failure

During the first republic in Madagascar, 1960-1972, the government launched a development campaign called, *"Fanabeazamboho ny ambanivohitra"*, which means, "increasing crop yield in the rural area". Unfortunately, the implementation was sometimes clumsy or even problematic because traditional landownership and some cultural taboos (like special areas where cultivation is strictly prohibited for religious or ancestral reasons) were not always respected. The outcome was rather disappointing, and, as a sign of rejection, the peasants started the following joke: when asked about the success of the operation, they would say: *"Yes be tokoa no voa"*, i.e. "Yes, many have been taken in". Phonetically, *"voho"*, crop, yield and *"voa"*, to be cheated, are pronounced in the same way.

Another case, again in Madagascar, during the same period, is the operation called "Development au ras du sol", i.e. development at ground level. Unfortunately, the implementers demanded good food and beautiful girls during their presence in the villages. As a consequence, the development at ground level was translated in the wrong way.

A similar case is *"Politikanny kibo"*, i.e. stomachs or food first. Again, because of the implementers' misbehavior, the word *"kibo"* which means both "stomach" and "womb" meant exclusively the latter.

Technical Language encourages Failure

Agriculture technicians in Madagascar have been very well aware of erosion problems since the first republic. Indeed, many fertile areas are in hilly places, and cultivation contributed to both food production and erosion. Through their studies, they concluded that, in such areas, ploughing should respect the contour line of the hills. Unfortunately, they could not find the Malagasy words to render that technical term and they had to use it as it was. They did not know that in some other areas, by tradition, people knew this technique and already had a terminology in Malagasy language. The result was a burst of laughter on the one side, and intensive and continuous erosion on the other side.

Economists throughout Africa experience comprehension problems when they have to explain such strange notions as *Marshall Plan, I.M.F. schemes, World Bank demands,* and *Malthusianism*. Despite all their efforts and goodwill, they cannot translate into an understandable language all these sophisticated schemes which were conceived in a quite different milieu with different terms of reference. In many cases, the peasants simply think that such jargon is a new and clever way to try and justify mismanagement of funds allocated for their development, or new government taxes.

Popular songs, riddles and oral literature show modern reactions to all these notions rural peasants can neither understand, nor trust. However, it is important to note that all these notions can be translated into African languages as these languages, like many others, are flexible enough to accommodate new concepts. The question is: who is ready to devote time to such an exercise? Another question is, is it certain that governments really want these concepts understood by their people? It is a fact that very few African countries have a clear language policy as a tool for mass development.

The Importance of Oral History and Tradition in Development Failure

Some time ago, in Madagascar, the first government wanted to implement a new technique, a Chinese one, in rice cultivation. It was called *"repiquage en ligne"*, i.e. planting out rice seedlings in lines to facilitate weeding and to give each plant enough space to grow and be more productive. The technique was rejected. Only rice fields near the main roads were cultivated according to this technique. Since the government's inspectors travel only by car, their report was quite positive about the implementation of the new technique. They did not always know that, inland, people continued to use the old ways on the basis of a deeply-rooted proverb: *"Manetsa vary mahalana ka ny atao no alaina"*, i.e. if you leave too much space between planted out rice seedlings, you will harvest less rice.

An incident related to irrigation development in Madagascar demonstrates the importance of local history. International development organizations wanted to increase rice production through improved water supply. Consequently, they concluded their technical studies and chose areas or sources they considered appropriate for this purpose. In one case, the water

came from a hill where an old enemy leader was buried, and the water from there was considered "dirty", unfit for any use. The peasants broke all the pipes once the foreign technicians left. Thousands of US dollars were lost. Similar cases are recorded in Zanzibar and in mainland Tanzania.

In another case, the irrigation pipes were to go through the land of a former slave-trader. His offspring still had authority in their area. Once the technicians went back to their office, these landowners threatened the people about the use of the water. They would recite the *Al-Badr* prayer against them. In that Muslim milieu, people believe that, if such a prayer is properly recited, it can provoke all kinds of mishappenings or misfortune. Again, the pipes were destroyed and rice plants were left to die. The technicians should have included among their parameters all these traditions and beliefs. Negotiations and propitiatory sacrifices are always possible.

Another example worth discussing relates to the practice in Madagascar of burning forests and bushes for cultivation. Obviously, it is ecologically unsound but, this practice has been inherited from the ancestors who said : *"Tsy ho lany ny ala atsinana"*, i.e. the forest of the eastern region will never be exhausted. It is now almost exhausted, and there is a serious climate change and desertification.

However, the authorities are insensitive in their way of explaining the danger. They seem to ignore that, for Malagasy people, innovations are delicate since they do not conform to the ancestors' way. The peasants are afraid of the ancestors' blame, if they adopt those innovations. Malagasy people in general believe that, though their ancestors are physically dead, they are still living spiritually, and can bless or punish the living community. Besides, there is the belief that knowledge inherited from the ancestors guarantees success for the future, and should not be changed.

The Importance of Traditional Techniques and Knowledge

An example of this type of failure concerns research the author is coordinating on traditional and popular practices towards fecundity. This research is sponsored by the United Nations Funds for Population (UNFPA) and the origin of the research programme is that, for quite some time now, millions of dollars have been spent to promote family planning, birth control, and the eradication of high infant and maternal mortality with little result.

Enormous investments have been made in health care, health education, birth control devices and medicines, However, there is little change, if at all, in the high birth and mortality rates. Our research is still underway, but we have found that all the investments and efforts were made in total ignorance of the people's knowledge, attitude, beliefs and practices in this domain. Also ignored are the traditional healers whose expertise is still acknowledged fully by the majority of the population and whose authority is accepted *de facto*. This is probably one of the most important contributing factors to the failure.

Alternative approaches for development.

Since we deal with fully mature adults, coercion and compulsion will only provoke resistance and rejection. Only dialogue, which supposes egalitarian relations, is advisable. Any development scheme should combine its objectives with the nature and mentality of the target population to boost

creativity and enthusiasm, since that is the way to make them comfortable and ready to implement the scheme.

Strategically, any development message should take into account the community's values and priorities, e.g. a deep desire for posterity, respect of the ancestors, individual dignity, solidarity, etc., and should ensure that the contradictory values of modern competition and traditional solidarity are well balanced.

As well, serious research is needed to study traditions and practices such as described above, because they are a precious source of knowledge and they allow a better perception of the target-community's profile. The data collected from such a study enables linguists and development technicians to recover traditional terminologies whose advantages are that:

(i) they are familiar to the target- communities, and

(ii) they can supply new terms in case the technicians and translators run short of adapted words.

This idea stems from the principle that there cannot be any positive development action outside the target-community's language.

Conclusion

The problems not discussed in our proposals are the financial requirements of the whole scheme. It will cost a lot of money in terms of researchers' training, data bank establishment, travels in fieldwork, etc. However, we remain convinced that such an investment will eventually generate the development desired for the people, and for which so much money has been used with rather disappointing results. ❑

Development Through Radio: The Zimbabwe Experience

by

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Introduction

Zimbabwe is a landlocked country which has access to seaports through Mozambique and South Africa. It has a population of over 8 million people, most of whom live in rural areas, and, because of this fact, communication plays an invaluable role in the development process. In Zimbabwe, development efforts are directed towards rural areas. Rural development is one of the government's priorities in an attempt to correct anomalities which existed before Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980.

The majority of the people in the rural areas in Zimbabwe are women and, in most cases, these women till the land while men work in urban areas or are engaged in other activities. Besides agricultural activities, women in rural areas are also engaged in various income generating projects, such as gardening, fence making, baking and simple furniture making. Women in Zimbabwe play a crucial role in the development of the country.

Unfortunately, quite a sizable number of these women are illiterate, which is a result of the previous system of government. The culture worsened the plight of the women in that it regarded them as minors, regardless of age. Boys received preference as far as education was concerned.

However, with the advent of independence, a lot has been done to change the situation of the women of Zimbabwe. For example, legal changes were made in those aspects of customary law and traditional practices which relegated women to positions of inferiority. The establishment of the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs in 1980 was instrumental in making these changes.

The Media in Zimbabwe

There are two dailies in Zimbabwe - *The Herald* in Harare and *The Chronicle* in Bulawayo. In addition, there are a number of provincial weeklies which include *Kwayedza/Muthunya* (Harare), *Masvingo Provincial Star* (Masvingo), The *Manica Post* (Mutare), *The Times* (Gweru), *Midlands Observer* (Kwekwe) and about three rural newspapers. Only the *Kwayedza* and the three rural newspapers use any *Shona* or *Ndebele*, the main local languages. All these papers are published in towns and/or provincial capitals. The majority of the rural population has very little or no access at all to most of these papers because of limited distribution, language and ever rising costs.

The electronic media fall under the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) which runs two television services and four radio stations known as Radio 1, 2, 3, and 4. Radio signals cover 90% of the country where 96% of the population lives. Of the four broadcasting stations, Radio Four is specifically tasked with rural broadcasting education. It is through this highlight channel that the Development Through Radio (DTR) project (the subject of this paper) is operated.

Development Through Radio (DTR) Project

The DTR project was initiated by the Federation of African Media Women Zimbabwe (FAMWZ). In 1985, FAMWZ recognised that, although the government had established Radio Four for formal and non-formal education, most of the rural people, especially women, did not have access to national radio. Some of the reasons for this situation were the high cost of radios in the country, the problem of getting spares for radios, and the shortage of batteries.

FAMWZ then developed the idea of DTR, based on the use of Radio Listening Clubs (RLCs) in rural areas and a new approach in broadcasting. The main thrust of the DTR project was that any meaningful solution to community problems must begin with the members of the community themselves who should identify priorities and articulate their problems. This strategy was based on the assumption that the way in which rural people perceive their problems is different from the way media practitioners and development and funding agencies perceive those same problems. FAMWZ felt that there was need to democratise broadcasting, so that women would be given the opportunity to participate in preparing and using development - oriented radio programmes.

The DTR project would also facilitate the identification and provision of outside expertise, facilities and services relevant to the problems facing the rural people. Networking of different communities within the country would be made possible and easier through the project. The project would also be used as an instrument to close the gap between the grassroots people and the policy makers, creating a two-way communication process, and placing service organizations within easy reach of rural people. This idea could work only if the rural women formed Listening Clubs - where each club would be given a free radio/cassette recorder.

When the FAMWZ was formally constituted in June 1985, it was agreed that the common objective was to conscientise women through education and the dissemination of information on the significance of their role in development in rural and urban areas.

FAMWZ approached the Freidrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES)and the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to obtain funds for hardware, training and exper-

tise. The Association of Women's Clubs, which runs over 20,000 women's clubs in Zimbabwe, was invited into the partnership, as it was necessary to use its existing structure as a springboard for the formation of the RLCs. The Zimbabwe Institute of Mass Communication was invited to join the group for research purposes and the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) was also approached to be a senior partner, because it was envisaged that programmes would be made and aired through Radio 4. When the ZBC accepted the idea, the project got under way with the backing of the Ministries of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, Community and Cooperative Development, and Women's Affairs.

A schedule of activities was drawn up early in 1986 by the six partners. Three rural districts in Mashonaland namely Chikwaka-Juru, Seke-Harava and Mhondoro-Mubaira were chosen for the project as they were easily accessible from Harare. A number of meetings were held with the communities in these districts between June and October 1986 to introduce the idea of the DTR/RLCs. The meetings also discussed the flow of information in the areas, problems, issues of interest, and the projects they were engaged in. A questionnaire was used to determine a range of issues such as the number of radios in the community, the women's listening patterns, and their lifestyles.

The women welcomed the idea of RLCs, saying that they could now be part of Zimbabwe by learning about what was happening in different parts of the country. Also, it became clear from the discussions that there was need for organized listening groups because very few people in those areas had radio receivers. For example, at Chikwaka, of the 150 women present at the first meeting, only 11 people had radios in good working order. That meant that at Chikwaka, where nine RLCs were formed (each club had 35 members), about 315 people now have access to radio every Monday when their programme is aired

By the end of 1986, 25 RLCs had been identified in Mashonaland and each had chosen two leaders (monitors). A workshop to train the monitors was held in Harare in late November 1986. The topics included the concept of "Development Through Radio", local leadership skills, group dynamics, how to conduct discussions on development issues, how to record the group's deliberations, and how to operate radio/cassette recorders. As some of the women were operating a radio for the first time in their lives, it was necessary to organize follow-up training sessions after the first workshop. Thus, 1987 was spent conducting such training courses in the rural areas at the request of the women.

Since the project started in late 1986, 45 RLCs have been formed in four provinces of Zimbabwe: 25 in Mashonaland and 20 in Matabeleland, the southern part of Zimbabwe.

The Matabeleland RLCs were formed following a request from that area. The clubs were established in October, 1989 in areas that are easily accessible from Bulawayo, so that it is easier for media personnel to monitor and service them at the pilot stage. These areas are Filabusi, Esigodini and Tsholotsho. The programmes for these clubs are broadcast on Wednesdays at 1400 hours.

In every case the formation of the RLCs has been preceded by an explanation of the "Development Through Radio" project concept, and the acceptance of its value by the community club members.

How Does the DTR System Work?

The Radio listening clubs meet weekly to discuss their most pressing problems and other issues of interest in the community; their deliberations are recorded and the tapes are taken to collection points where the Co-ordinator/Producer of the RLC programmes collects them. Back at the station the Co- ordinator/Producer listens to the recordings and arranges with appropriate experts, Ministries, and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to record their responses to the problems and issues discussed by the clubs. Such responses may consist of information the communities need to solve their problems themselves, or of the actions to be taken by such experts, Ministries, and NGOs in response to the problems and issues. The Co-ordinator/ Producer then packages the RLC inputs and his own recordings to produce a half hour programme which is aired every week in each language. After listening to the programme, the RLC members respond to it and record their discussion for use in follow-up programmes.

A Case Study of Changachirere, Chivero, Mhondoro

This case study is based on a particular meeting, and the follow-up to it, of the Changachirere RLC in Mhondoro. The problem brought to light in one of the recorded RLC discussions early in 1990 was a shortage of water. The case study gives a brief outline of the recorded discussion and shows how the Radio Four Co-ordinator/Producer works with the RLCs to expose long standing development problems in the community – in this case a shortage of water. The exposure of the problem and the follow-up work done are already showing signs of bringing a solution to the problem. The case study also shows how the community and the media working together have been able to have an impact on the lives of ordinary people.

The problem was a lack of boreholes for about 12 villages in Chivero, Mhondoro. The water shortage in the area had been severe for several years. The affected communities had had to rely on digging the riverbed for water for household use, livestock watering and other agro-related activities. It would seem that despite the community's recognition of the problem, there had not been any feedback from the authorities, for example, MPs and District Administrators.

During the recorded RLC discussion, members expressed their concern about the water problem in the community. A community worker spoke about the lack of participation in development projects by some members of the community because of ill-health caused by unsafe water in the area, and a farmer spelt out the impact the water problem had on farming activities. A local headman alleged that the local councillor was not taken seriously when she presented pressing developmental issues affecting her people to the council office and the District Administrator.

After the recorded community discussion, the Coordinator/Producer accompanied some RLC and community members to the riverbed, where they collected a sample of the water. The sample was taken to the Government laboratory analyst in Harare. The findings from the chemical analysis were that the concentration of iron (at 0.8 ppm) and magnesium (8) exceeded the maximum permissible concentration level set by the World Health Organization. The water was to be treated before use, and the Chivero community was referred to the Ministry of Water

Development for advice. The response from the Government laboratory analyst was communicated to the RLCs through their programme.

Thereafter, further follow-up was undertaken by the Co-ordinator/Producer who sought and recorded the responses of the following people and organizations:

(i) the District Council Chairman, who complained that projects were diverted to other parts of Mashonaland West Province;
(ii) the Zimbabwe Red Cross Society which advised the Chivero community to form and operate Red Cross groups in their area so that the Society could assist them;
(iii) the Ministry of Energy and Water Resources which, through the District Development Funds, spelt out the high costs of treating water and training staff for borehole maintenance;
(iv) the local health inspector, who suggested simple measures of filtering the water, and
(v) the District Administrator, whose response was that there were areas of greater priority in other parts of Mhondoro and that Chivero would be the next area to be looked into.

The Radio 4 Education Committee, a forum which brings together Radio 4 personnel and relevant Ministries and NGOs, have since heard this particular programme. The World Vision International and the Catholic Development Commission have shown interest in assisting with the provision of boreholes in the area and the Zimbabwe Red Cross Society has set aside over Z$ 8,000 for boreholes in the Chivero area.

Limitations and Problems of the Project

There are a number of problems which have affected the DTR project, which include the following:

(i) transmitter problems, i.e. some parts of the country are not fully covered by transmitters and there are problems of breakdowns in some areas;
(ii) the DTR project is a relatively new concept which some communities and their leaders have yet to fully understand, appreciate and support it;
(iii) battery supplies are inadequate; there is need to supply all RLCs with rechargeable batteries, and
(iv) some people have to travel long distances to some of the meeting places, resulting in poor attendance; this problem can be alleviated by issuing more receivers and splitting the clubs.

Concluding Remarks

Although this project, which is still at the pilot stage, is very popular among the rural communities, no research on its impact has been carried out. The partners feel that there is great need for research into and review of the project.

However, it is worth noting that the project has made it possible for some people to realize that they can be involved in identifying their own problems and using the radio to communicate them to policy makers. Obtaining feedback through radio programmmes on these problems makes the project a truly "from people to people" way of programming. As a result there have been many requests to establish RLCs in communities where the project has not yet been established. ❑

The Impact of Information on Rural Development: A Case Study of the Community Media for Rural Development Project (Tanzania)

by

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Introduction

Rural Development in the Tanzanian Context

Only 15 per cent of Tanzania's 23 million inhabitants live in urban areas.[1] The rest, about 19.5 million, live in 8134 villages created in the early 1970's during the villagization campaign.[2] The country is, therefore, predominantly rural.

Since Independence in 1961, Tanzania has been promulgating a development policy that is rural oriented, purporting to uplift the living standards of the majority.[3] To underscore this resolve, the first president of Tanzania, Dr. J.K. Nyerere once remarked: "while others try to reach the moon, we try to reach our villages"; and for sure there has been tremendous infrastructural transformation of rural Tanzania. Schools, health centres, administration offices, co-operative centres, and a vast array of extension workers have all been a common feature of the villages. If development were to be measured in terms of the availability of these infrastructures, then there is no doubt Tanzania has made considerable progress.

However, the economic reality of rural Tanzania today is very difficult. The per capita income in the rural areas is very low, and getting lower in real terms as the purchasing power of the shilling declines year after year. Tanzania has a big potential for indigenous rural economic development because of the abundant human and natural resources. But the rural human resources are unproductive because they lack the knowledge and skills needed to exploit the environment with its natural endowments fully.

Tanzania boasts the highest literacy rate in Africa (87%). This literacy simply means knowing how to read and write at a very elementary stage, which, in itself, cannot facilitate the acquisition of knowledge and skills needed for improved production.

It is true that a very high percentage of children go to primary school (97%), and that some attend post-primary educational institutions. But enrolment for secondary education is low (2.6%), and very low for higher institutions of learning.[4] This means that most Tanzanians do not have secondary education and most of those who have live in urban centres. The Tanzanian rural community, therefore, is predominantly functionally illiterate and suffers from poverty, ignorance and disease.

Agriculture in various forms, but mainly subsistence, is the main economic pre-occupation of the rural majority. In the last decade, market prices for cash crops have been falling by as much as 70% for crops like sisal, coffee and cloves. With an inflation rate above 30%, the living standard of the rural dweller has worsened. Furthermore, social services such as schools, hospitals, housing, roads and extension services have deteriorated, despite the elaborate infrastructures set up.

This gloomy scenario calls for new efforts and institutions that will mobilize the people and spearhead the development effort at the rural level. The mass media are among the institutions that could assist.

The Mass Media in Tanzania

The present media set up in Tanzania is national in scope, and too urban biased, urban based, and urban looking to be of satisfactory service to the rural people.[5] Each medium has its own limitations.

(I) National Newspapers:

There are few copies because of limited press capacity and non-availability of newsprint. UHURU (Swahili) and DAILY NEWS (English) have a total daily circulation of less than 120,000 copies.

Their circulation is mainly in major urban centres because of the lack of developed communication infrastructure and sales agents in rural areas, and high prices that the rural dweller cannot afford.

The content is not relevant to the lives of the rural population. The use of English is also another limiting factor since most of the people do not know the language.

(II) Radio Broadcasting

There is limited signal reception in parts of the country, especially border areas. The listenable signal coverage is put at 66% of the country.[6]

Programming is unprofessional in its presentation and content.

Receivers are very expensive because of high Government taxation. The Government has a monopoly; hence, the medium allows little access and participation by the people.[7]

With these limitations, empowering people to meet their own development demands with an alternative model of information communication would ensure the following:

(i) that relevant development information from the national media reaches the people;

(ii) that appropriate media are established and deployed, taking into consideration the environment obtaining in the different rural communities, and

(iii) that the media so established are owned by the people and run by the

people of that community for their own development.

This conceptual framework is based on the premise that such an alternative model of information communication would help reduce the existing imbalance of development information between the national and rural levels with regard to relevance, quantity and quality. Furthermore, the use of media formats that can facilitate grassroot level communication is a prerequisite in information communication for development.

The Community Media for Rural Development Project

The primary actors in this project are the Tanzania Information Services, Tanzania News Agency and Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam. The Information Services and the News Agency are suppliers of information material to other media and are also empowered to establish their own media vehicles for direct communication with the people.

The secondary agencies are the Tanzania School of Journalism for training purposes and the rural newspaper TUJIELIMISHE, as a carrier of functional literacy and development information at the zonal level.

The project beneficiaries, that is the villagers, are also actors in that they participate in the village information centres, producing their newsletters and discussion programmes.

At the national level, the project incorporates the national media with the objective of reducing the urban domination of the content and balancing it with information from rural areas.

Project Objectives

While tremendous achievements have been accomplished at the national level with the establishment of a centralized media network, at the rural area level, the network is underdeveloped. In this context the main objective is to rectify this imbalance by a deliberate policy of re-orientation and diversification of the information services, the news agency and the broadcasting services. It was planned that the Community Media for Rural Development project would establish direct links with selected villages through localised broadcasts, newscasts, features, newspapers and audio-visual facilities. In this way, the media would be able to address themselves to the real and relevant needs of the communities, hasten rural development in all its facets and contribute to a more balanced national information order.

The overall purpose of the project is to bring about a sense of development by collecting and disseminating relevant information in the project area, especially information relating to agricultural production and storage, nutrition health, personal hygiene and sanitation, environment protection, and mother and child survival.

Operationalization

Broad areas of operation anticipated were the establishment of modern rural media; training of communicators for a rural milieu, and involvement of the rural communities in the communication process. Making these tenets work necessitated a baseline survey in the project zone to determine, among other things:

(i) availability of communication media in rural areas;

(ii) media use and habits of the various

demographic groups;

(iii) the social and economic status of rural media users, and

(iv) the existence and use of traditional forms of communication.

This baseline data determined the specific action plans in implementing the project. Data were collected from nine villages.[8] The choice of the villages and respondents was such that they represented a broad development spectrum: there were pastoralists who did not engage in agriculture at all, a fishing village, large scale farmers, cash crop farmers, mixed farming and subsistence farmers, and a model *ujamaa* or socialist village.

Despite these big profile differences, the findings about the media were quite consistent. The more literate the community, the more media were used and vice versa. Illiteracy was more common in the oldest age groups. In one project village, the literacy rate was 97%, perhaps the highest in the country; another had 43%, and the rest ranged between.

In the project zone, the survey found that 60% of the population owned a radio receiver, although quite a number of them were not in use for lack of batteries or were broken down.

Two thirds of the residents listened to Radio Tanzania everyday. Communal listening was very common: at a neighbour's house, a shop, schools and bars. In fact, one third of the radio listeners did not have their own receivers. The favourite listening hours were the mornings and evenings. The numbers of hours of listening varied, but from the findings, it hardly exceeded an hour a day. In the rural areas, the high price of batteries was the most common complaint.

The survey also revealed that newspaper readers were predominantly male. The national Swahili daily UHURU, has the largest readership – about 4% of the population daily average. To the rural dweller the newspapers are sources of national and international information, but not part of the everyday life in the village. The few readers said they were finding it more and more difficult to get newspapers. Magazines are rare, and the few that were cited were religious publications.

A rural newspaper targeted to newly literate adults was found to be known mostly by well-educated extension workers, teachers and school children. Books were rare in villages, and, where available, were read by school children, very religious people and those in adult education activities.

Posters were mentioned quite frequently as a visual material available in the village, but few people paid attention to them. Most people said they were very interested in film and video, and some even in television, although they had never seen one. They remembered films seen many years ago in the village, and would like to see more. Younger people mentioned music cassettes as something lacking in the rural areas.

The survey indicated that the national media were mostly used for national and international news, religious guidance and entertainment. At the local level, the national media have no other role to play. Instead, interpersonal channels like the village meeting, the traveller, and other encounters at everyday activities are the ones mostly used for information communication.

A perception pattern could also be discerned from the data. Villagers pay attention to information that concerns their everyday life, or events which happened in the immediate neighbourhood. Their picture of the world becomes vague beyond the im-

mediate vicinity. Asked about the kind of information they would like to get from the media, almost all mentioned their economic field of interest: agriculture (various crop production), fishing, and cattle rearing. Women also mentioned child care and house management.

This baseline survey confirmed that the national media are a scarce commodity in rural areas, and are not appropriate means of transmitting development information on science, technology, new methods of production and education.

The following crucial information emerging from the survey guided formulation of the project action plans.

(i) Tanzanian villages are not uniform in many respects; hence, action plans for each village would have to take into consideration specific circumstances obtaining in the area.

(ii) The supply of national mass communication would have to be increased while at the same time developing indigenous village level communication systems.

(iii) The media services to be established, whether local or national, should be regular in order to create a media consumption habit. Hitherto, encounters with the media were haphazard and irregular, if not accidental.

(iv) Communal radio listening centres would be an ideal set-up, given that private radio ownership is low and batteries are too expensive in a rural situation.

(v) The novelty of film and video would be exploited, especially for development action oriented communication. Similarly, audio cassettes taped with tailor made programmes would be used at the listening centre.

(vi) In addition to the outside catalysts and facilities, people from the villages would have to be involved in the communication functions. Their involvement would help to retain the indigenous nature of the activities. It would thus entail establishing volunteer village correspondents to link up with national and zonal media and information centre attendants, who would produce localised newsletters and assist in cassette programme production.

(vii) Agents disseminating development information to the villages would be co-ordinated and assisted.

After drawing up these guidelines, the project management devised the following concrete activities whose description follows.

Training

Nine regionally-based senior journalists from the participating agencies were given a multi-disciplinary course in rural information communication. Each was expected to supervise and co-ordinate the activities of the village in his/her region. They would also liaise with the extension services for information to be communicated to the people, and devise the proper medium through which it would be disseminated.

Each village sent two volunteers to be trained in basic print journalism, newsletter production, management of a rural information and basic communication theory. These trainees would collect news and information to be reproduced in the village newsletter. They were placed in charge of the information centres housing newspapers, magazines and other developmental literature. They play cassette record-

ings and participate in discussion programmes as moderators.

Equipment

Most of the equipment ordered was for the audio-visual media: radio cassettes, typewriters, slide and cine projectors, cameras, video sets, stencil duplicators, tape-recorders, and photographic materials. Vehicles ordered for the project were for the regionally based co-ordinators to travel to the various villages. Village journalists received bicycles to use for news collection and distribution of the newsletter.

Information Activities

Daily Newspapers and Other Reading Materials

The project buys the daily newspapers, UHURU and the DAILY NEWS, and sends them to the village reading centres. The regional coordinators also acquire other literature that is of relevance to a particular village depending on its profile.

Newsletters

In each village, a monthly newsletter is produced by the village animators and distributed free of charge. These carry news and information from the village and surrounding areas. They are eight to twelve page mimeographs done on duplicating machines. The extension agents in the area use them to communicate topical development information. They also carry personal announcements and opinions on village issues.

Features

The feature articles are well researched and written by the regional team in collaboration with development agents in the area. The aim is to enlighten the villagers on issues affecting their lives. They are released independently in as many copies as possible.

Posters and Billboards

The regional co-ordinator collects posters from various organizations and, depending on the relevancy of the messages, the posters are displayed at the village information centre and other places frequented by many people, like schools, dispensaries, churches and mosques, market places and the party office.

Radio Cassette Tape Programmes

Radio programmes are recorded in the village in either interview or discussion format and played later at appropriate times determined by the animator. The regional co-ordinator also secures relevant tape programmes and sends them to the village.

Video Shows

Video taped programmes are either shot in the village or secured elsewhere for showing. The main problem, however, is transportation of the delicate equipment over bumpy roads. Video is very popular. In each region there is one set which is circulated in the project villages.

Film Shows

Topical films are borrowed from the Tanzania Film Company, the Tanzania Audio Visual Institute, government departments and other agencies and screened regularly in the villages, not only for their educational value but also for entertainment.

Zonal Radio Broadcasting

The intention was to use Radio Tanzania's booster station at Arusha for

broadcasting zonal programmes on a network basis. Equipment was identified and purchased to facilitate such broadcasts. However, due to structural changes needed in the booster station, it may not be possible to start broadcasting zonally before the end of the pilot phase of the project.

Indicators of Project Impact

A formative evaluation has been conducted in three sample villages where most of the information and communication activities are going on. The findings confirm the appropriateness of community media for information communication for rural development.[9]

Project Popularity

Almost 100 % of the people surveyed (200) are aware of the existence of community media services in their village. The use of the services offered at the centre varies from village to village.

Table 1 illustrates the use of the village realities by the 50 interviewees in each village.

The village newsletter is the most popular reading material. However many villagers go to the centre at least once a week to read and or borrow newspapers and magazines. Those living closer to the centre go more often than those living more than a kilometre away.

Table 1:

Use of Community Media Services

Name of Villages	No. Listening to Communal Radio	%	No. Reading Paper	%	No. Reading NewsLetter	%
Moivaro	14	28	32	64	34	68
Lyamungo Kati	34	68	43	86	50	100
Lang'ata Bora	34	68	44	88	49	98

The national newspapers asked for mostly are UHURU and MZALENDO, published in Swahili. Only 4% of villagers read the English language DAILY NEWS. The more isolated the village, the more people sought information in the reading centre. This phenomenon explains the differences between Moivaro (hardly 10 km. away from Arusha town) and a village like Lang'ata Bora, which is more than 100 km. from Moshi town.

Live sports and special event broadcasts bring a large number of people to the centre to listen to the radio. The location of the centre matters quite a lot in determining use of the media facilities. In villages where houses are clustered in small areas with the information centre placed in the middle, the attendance is quite high, in contrast to attendance settlements which stretch over large areas. However, in all the villages, people expressed the need to have spacious premises for the information centre. Already in some

villages, the building of an information centre on a self-help basis has begun.

Audiences

Listeners at the communal radio listening centre are predominantly male who visit in the afternoons after the day's work. Women say they do not have the time for such an activity; however, the few that do so say it is part of the adult education literacy programme.

Films and video shows in the evenings attract all ages and both genders. In one village (Lang'ata Bora), the youth have formed a cultural group that meets frequently to sing and dance traditional songs recorded and played over the project cassette recorder.

Newspaper reading at the centre is also mainly a male affair. In all the villages, however, the village newsletter is the most popular, despite its crude mimeographed appearance. Almost all respondents in this survey had read and were satisfied with the content of the newsletters, and were also willing to contribute articles to them.

About 70% of those surveyed were primary school leavers engaged mostly in farming or fishing. They comprise the majority of radio listeners and newspaper readers. Except in one village (Lyamongo Kati) where 26% of the respondents had secondary education or higher, secondary school leavers were rare.

It is interesting to note, however, that even those who are illiterate were aware of some of the issues written about in the newsletters. Often topical issues were discussed informally at the centre, work-places and beer shops by those who had read or heard about them in detail.

Appropriateness of Media

The new media introduced into the villages are reported as being interesting and more motivating than the national media. Whereas the national papers are said to be useful in keeping them informed on the nation and world, villagers perceive that the newsletter deals with issues affecting their lives, and, fosters popular interest in matters of concern in the village. They see the newsletters as useful tools in educating them on basic issues like health, agriculture, fishing, sanitation, environment protection, child care and family planning. Many say they obtain practical and useful information from the newsletters especially regarding health, which was frequently mentioned to have been presented adequately.

Analysis of the newsletters' content shows a bias toward development and educational information, mainly on the basic economic activities and major pre-occupations of the people. In all the three newsletters, educational health and agricultural matters were given much prominence, although there is no editorial policy requiring the editors to do so. It is simply a matter of giving the people what they want.

Development Potential

Local communication plays a significant role in development as it provides a means through which people could be educated. At one village, a farmer reported that he can now make compost manure after following the instructions he read in the farmer's magazine called MKULIMA. Consequently his yield per acre increased substantially after applying the manure to his farm.

Another farmer recognised the disease afflicting his cow (mastitis) after reading of the symptoms in a magazine.

When he administered the treatment suggested, the cow was cured. He can now diagnose and treat his animals and has learnt preventive measures.

There are many examples documented of people acquiring valuable information from the village newsletter, the farmers magazine, or the film they saw.

Apart from this educational role, the community media have helped to bridge the gap between the village and the district or regional administrators. There are instances where district officials have reacted to village problems after having learnt about them in the newsletters. In one case the district sent desks to a village school. In another, a bulldozer was sent to repair an access road to the village. Bags of cement were also sent to another school to finish construction of a latrine. The district authorities say they learnt of these problems after reading the village newsletters.

But even more significant is the fact that problems that have existed for years are now being solved after being highlighted in the local media. People realize that those problems are within their power to solve, and that self-help is the ideal way of bringing about development. A news item highlighted the fact that at a primary school some pupils had to sit on the floor during examinations for lack of desks. Prior to that the pupils were sitting on the floor during class lectures. But the news item changed the whole perspective and parents decided to act. Within a month, enough funds had been collected to buy sufficient desks for the school.

The literacy campaign in Tanzania is still going on and people are acquiring rudimentary writing and reading skills. After a while, if reading materials are not available, the new readers degenerate to illiteracy again. The community media have helped to sustain these new reading skills, and, in some adult education classes, the newspapers are required reading, mainly because they are readily available.

Conclusion

Most of the equipment needed for a full-fledged operationalisation of the concept of community media as envisaged arrived late, and has not yet been fully utilized. But the potential of the project in helping the development process in rural areas has clearly been demonstrated. When all the planned activities have been carried out, the rural dweller will have acquired communication channels that will facilitate interaction within the community, interaction with planners and leaders outside the village. The machinery will ease the acquisition of knowledge and skills needed to make full use of resources available in the immediate environment. As well enlightened villagers are apt to benefit more and participate fully in the democratic process in their community and nation. ❑

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Women as Communicators - The Potential in the Popular Theatre Process

by

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Introduction

It is generally agreed that women are not active as communicators for development. Attention has been drawn to the fact that women do not participate in policy formulation and decision-making processes even in issues that affect them directly (Mascarenhas & Mbilinyi 1983; Mbilinyi 1990; UNICEF, 1985; Mlama 1980).

Studies have also shown that even when attempts are made to include women in decision-making bodies and fora, their participation is minimal (Bakri and Besha 1989). It is argued that women tend to be quiet in meetings, especially public meetings. In Tanzania, for example, even though there is mandatory or preferential representation of women in government bodies, from village, district, regional and national levels, their contribution has remained insignificant. The woman's voice in the village council meetings, village public meetings, district or regional development committees, parliament, Party National Executive Committee and Party Congress is rare despite the presence of women (UWT 1982; Swantz.).

Many reasons have been advanced to explain this state of affairs. One is the fact that women have been conditioned by socio-cultural structures not to be vocal in public, especially in the presence of men (Davies and Graves 1985). Their low level of formal education, which often makes women's comprehension of political and development issues difficult, also curtails their meaningful participation. Lack of training or practice in public speaking and infrequent opportunities to participate in meetings and decision-making processes deny women the chance to develop public speaking skills. Without such skills, women often feel too shy to speak in public even when they have good ideas.

Language is another serious obstacle to grassroots women's participation. It is common for official matters and public meetings to be conducted in

the national languages. For many African countries, the so called "national" languages are foreign languages, such as English or French, of which the women have no mastery. Considering their historical deprivation of educational opportunities, many women never master the foreign languages whose fluency normally requires post-primary education.

Even in a country like Tanzania, where Kiswahili is the national language which almost everyone speaks, many rural women's competency in Kiswahili is not sufficient to facilitate fluency in public meetings. The government's policy that all official business be conducted in Kiswahili has succeeded in popularising Kiswahili and cementing national unity, but it has imposed some constraints among the rural populations fluent in ethnic languages. Although it is a temporary problem in the sense that the future generations will be more fluent in Kiswahili, it has affected the ability of grassroots women to participate in communication for development. One notices, for example, that often at village public meetings in Tanzania when women are urged to speak their minds, they are told that they are free to speak in the local language if they so wish, and that someone else will translate what they say into Kiswahili. In a number of situations witnessed by the author, this translation facility had helped the women to make a contribution.

Women's participation as communicators in the mass media is also basically passive. The mass media - radio, film, television and the print media - are male-controlled. For years, women have argued for an expansion of opportunities for training and jobs in the media. Even when women have been employed by the media, they are often relegated to lower and less skilled jobs that do not give them much control over what is communicated through radio, film, television or in print. (Mtambalike 1988). It is no wonder that the image of women in the media has remained very negative and detrimental to women's development.

There have been some women's participation at the grassroots level. For example, rural newspapers, radio discussion groups, mobile cinemas and community television or video centres have striven to make the media accessible to rural populations. Rather than effecting women's involvement in communication at the grassroots level, however, these efforts have managed only to move existing media personnel closer to rural areas without changing the media control or access. The media professionals have merely duplicated the national media structures at the regional or district level. The communication process is still a one-way process whereby the journalists, radio programmers or film makers prepare the messages on development communicated to the community with little room for feedback or contributions from the audience.

Child Survival for Development (CSD) in Tanzania has done a commendable job in setting up rural newsletters to communicate information about child care. A study of some of these newsletters indicated the one-way communication process referred to above. Most articles are about what leaders or CSD officials say about nutrition, immunization or childcare. Indeed, many articles are directives to women to feed the children well, to take them to clinics for immunization and so on. (Mlama 1990).

To a certain extent, however, the rural media have provided an opportunity for rural people to participate as contributors. In rural newsletters, for example, there is a greater chance for contributors from the rural communi-

ties. The *Nipe Habari* newsletter of Iringa CSD in Tanzania, for example, is receiving contributions from village correspondents who have been specifically trained for the purpose. These village correspondents are from the local communities and they contribute articles based on their experiences with the child survival programme.

These achievements of the rural media, however, have not greatly affected women's participation as communicators. As is the case with the meetings and the mass media, the rural media treat women basically as passive. Women receive messages delivered by the media professionals, most of whom are male.

All these factors point to the conclusion that women are not active communicators in the development process. Much soul-searching has gone into identifying means to rectify this situation. The last decade, has for example, seen increased efforts in training women in the media professions and the establishment of magazines and newsletters produced by and for women - *Sauti ya Siti*, **The Tribune, Voices Rising, Echo** are a few examples.

Whereas it is true that women have not participated actively as communicators in communication for development, it is not true to say that women are not active communicators. A historical review of women and communication will reveal that women do participate actively in communicating their feelings and ideas to other members of the community. In terms of daily verbal inter-personal communication, women are often considered more communicative than men. It is true also that women are often outstanding singers, poetesses, storytellers, and dancers, relaying and interpreting observations on realities of life. Traditional education rituals such as initiation rites for girls communicate considerable knowledge about life in the society; women are the main communicators. They use song and dance to deliver information about sex, child birth, child care, social relations and responsibilities relating to family and society at large. Story-telling, through which much knowledge is imparted to children about the virtues, morals and attitudes accepted in the society, is often the domain of women. Many communities have women as their best storytellers (Mlama 1983).

It is also not true that women are always shy to communicate in public or in front of men. Women as dancers, singers or storytellers do perform and express themselves publicly without inhibitions or fear. A review of dance performances or the composition of dance troupes shows impressive participation by or membership of women. A study of dance troupes in Tanzania's city of Dar es Salaam revealed that over half of the members are female (Mlama 1990). The same is true for *taarab*, a coastal orchestal musical performance where the main singers are often women.

Women are at their best as communicators in such events as weddings where there is a lot of expression of feelings about the brides, in-laws or friends. Many cultures require mothers or aunts of brides to sing in public and express themselves about the wedding. Indeed, weddings are times of much public expression, joking, singing and dancing and women are often very active as communicators.

Why are women quiet when it comes to contemporary communication for development? The thesis of this paper is that women are active communicators but the selection of media for development communication has ignored those media which facilitate active participation of women.

Most development programmes, based as they are in European and North American cultures, have over-empha-

sized the mass media, assuming that radio, newspapers, posters, books, television are the only media which can facilitate development. It is now clear that the mass media are not as effective as once assumed (ACCE 1987; Boafo 1989; Moemeka 1981). It is also true that the mass media do not effectively involve the participation of women as active communicators for development. To date, women have been basically passive recipients with minimal opportunity to express their views or ideas on their society's development.

Although it is important to step up existing efforts towards improving and strengthening the mass media, there is great need to explore which media facilitate more active participation of women as communicators and employ these in the development process.

One example of an effort to explore appropriate media for facilitating women's participation in communication for development is the Namionga Popular Theatre Project, conducted in July, 1989 in Newala District in Mtwara region, Southern Tanzania. The aim of the project was to assess the level of women's participation as communicators in the official media used for the Child Survival (CSD) Programme.

Secondly, the project explored the extent which women would participate as communicators if indigenous media familiar to them were employed. The indigenous media were introduced through use of Popular Theatre techniques. The Popular Theatre approach involves the use of theatre forms familiar to a community to involve the participation of people in researching and analysing development problems. Using such theatre forms as dance, storytelling, recitations, masquerades, drama or other forms available, people concertize the problems in theatrical performances, highlighting their own perceptions on the root of the problems and the possible solutions. After the performance, the audience and the performers discuss the issues presented and decide on action to be taken to solve the problems involved.

The Namionga Project

Participation of women in media used in Namionga

The findings of a survey on the media that CSD programme used in Namionga village showed that there was minimal participation of women as communicators.

The most commonly used medium in Namionga village was meetings; public meetings addressed by government leaders as CSD officials, and village government council meetings. In these meetings the formal procedures of official business were followed; an address by the Chairman or an official guest, followed by questions and discussions. The village health committee, however, sometimes conducted informal meetings with parents to follow up the progress of children whose growth indicated problems.

As is often the case in public meetings, women's participation as speakers was very minimal. The women basically listened. CSD also employed person-to-person communication. The normal practice was for CSD-related information to be communicated from the village government chairman or secretary to the Ten Cell Leader. The Ten Cell leader then went to each of the ten households under his jurisdiction and passed on information. Although person-to-person communication could give women a good opportunity to express their views, in this case the women were put at a disadvantage because they were receiving the information from an official of the village government who had the status of a leader. In many cases, the

information passed was directives about what the women were supposed to do in relation to CSD; for example, taking children to the health posts for immunization or health monitoring, or participating in self-help projects relating to child-care. Again the information flow was top-down and male dominated.

An alternative medium employed was the seminar series which was conducted for mothers when they brought children to the health post for weight monitoring and immunization. The aim of the programme was to use the presence of mothers to discuss problems related to child upbringing. Health workers also use this time to teach the mothers how to prepare nutritious food for children and other aspects of good child care.

The study revealed that these seminars, too, were lecture sessions in which the health workers did most of the talking, giving directives to the mothers. There was minimal discussion and the mothers' contribution was restricted to asking a few questions at the end.

An attempt was made to use artistic media, especially song and dance. However, instead of letting the women themselves perform the songs and dances, special primary school children groups were used. The content of the songs and dances was prepared by teachers and CSD officials. Although these presentations were an effective means of reaching a wider audience, CSD adopted a one-way communication process in which women played no part as communicators. Although girls participated in these school groups as singers and dancers, they had not taken part in the formulation of the messages they were communicating to their audience.

Although the CSD programme, which is national in scope, also utilises radio and newspapers, the women in Namionga had very little access to these media. Few people had radio, and women's heavy workload offered them little opportunity to listen to the radio, even if they had one. Newspapers did not reach Namionga village and, even if both radio and newspapers were accessible, the one-way communication process adopted by these media does not allow the participation of women as communicators.

The Popular Theatre Project

The Popular Theatre Project was conducted in five main stages and women's participation was monitored in each stage. The five stages included information-gathering, in which thirty people from the community and animateurs conducting the project collected information from the villages about what problems the village faced related to child survival. The list of problems included the unfair division of labour between men and women, lack of water, inadequate social services, low income, marriage problems and poor communication.

In stage two, the members of the community (whoever wanted to participate, both men and women) were divided into three groups. The groups were constituted around three indigenous dance groups existing in the village, namely *Mandelela, Teleza* and *Makadabada*. The *Mandelela* was a women's dance, the other two were for both sexes. In these groups the members of the community analysed further the identified problem in order to pinpoint the root causes. Each group dealt with two of the major problems identified. There were 62 women in *Mandelela* group, 21 women out of 78 in *Teleza* and 32 out of 70 in *Makadabada*.

The third stage was theatre creation. All three groups used the information they had from the research and the analysis to create theatre performances

using whatever artistic form they chose. All the three groups created performances centred on their dances, i.e. *Mandelela, Teleza* and *Makadabada*. However, they also incorporated other artistic forms including poetic drama *(ngonjera)*, dramatic skits, mask-dances and story-telling. The rehearsal took several days.

In the fourth stage, the three groups presented a public performance for the whole village. The *Mandelela* group's performance of dance and story-telling dealt with marital problems including irresponsible fathers, effects of divorce and promiscuity on children, and women's unfair workload.

The *Teleza* performance of dance, drama and mask-dance showed how the lack of water and adequate health services affected child care. It exposed corrupt practices by water technicians leading to closure of the water tap system for long periods and the demand for bribes by medical staff at the village dispensary.

The *Makadabada* group portrayed the problems of the shortage of land, loitering, excessive drinking and bad leadership and their effects on the growth of the child. The Appendix contains examples of songs from these performances.

Immediately after the performance of all the three groups, the audience and the performers engaged in a discussion on their reactions to the content of the performance, whether they agreed on the issues presented and what steps could be taken by the community to solve the problems shown.

Participation of Women in the Popular Theatre Process

A monitoring of women's participation in the Popular Theatre process revealed the following:

(i) Information gathering

Women participated in the information gathering stage both as members of the interview team (13 out of the 30 researchers were women) and as interviewees. Since women, especially those of child bearing age, were the main target of CSD, they were specifically mobilised to talk to the researchers. In each of the households (about 350) visited, at least one woman was interviewed and, in many cases, several women in the house. One team of two researchers, for example, visited 19 houses and talked to a total of 29 women.

The women respondents showed a willingness to participate in the interviews and the discussions. The quality of their participation, however, was determined by a number of factors. It was observed that where the researchers' team included members of the village government, (especially the two teams that included the village government leaders), the respondent's participation was self-censored. They tended to answer questions briefly, mostly with yes or no. The also tended to say that everything about the CSD campaign was good and that there were no problems. The research teams without the village leaders experienced much freer and more animated discussions.

In three cases, also, the presence of husbands caused the wives to refrain from giving their uncensored opinions of issues such as marriage problems, although they would voice their opinions openly when they were interviewed alone.

Otherwise, participation was high and women had much say about the problems raised. They were particularly vocal about water, marriage and division of labour problems from which they perceived themselves to suffer the most. Most of them expressed the view that the CSD programme was very good

and that it had helped them know how to raise their children. However, it was difficult for them to implement what they learned because of the problems they identified. The middle-aged and older women seemed to be much more vocal on the constraints, probably because of their own life experiences. From none of the four research teams was there any report of women refusing to participate in the data collection. Similarly, no group complained of not getting women's participation.

(ii) Data-analysis

The participation of women in the data analysis discussions had an interesting pattern. In the first group, *Mandelela*, the women's dance group, there was very active participation and the women were very vocal about the division of labour and marriage problems. The active participation may have been due to the fact that the women felt at ease in the absence of men, since the issues with which the group was dealing touched very sensitive aspects of their lives.

It was observed also that it was the older women who were most vocal. The younger women, especially the girls and young mothers, tended to listen to the elders and show their support of the views expressed only through laughter, brief comments or ululations. This behaviour may have been because of traditional cultural respect younger people demonstrate to their elders, or simply that the older women had more life experiences on which to draw.

In the second group, *Teleza*, even though the water problem with which the group was dealing seriously affected women, the 21 women present were silent. As observed earlier, they left all the talking to the men and simply nodded or laughed in support of views expressed. The presence of so many men (57) seemed to intimidate the women. It is probably of major significance that *Teleza* is a youth dance group; therefore, many members of this group were young girls. The women's participation in this group was, therefore, passive, perhaps owing to the fact that the girls were too young to articulate the issues properly.

The *Makadabada* group was more vocal than *Teleza* in that seven women spoke during the discussion despite the large numbers of men present. The seven, while older than the *Teleza* girls, ranged in age from young girls to elderly women. However, the women's participation was low, because only seven out of 32 women present spoke. The rest resorted to laughter or short comments of agreement or disagreement with opinions expressed by the speakers.

Taking the three groups together though, it can be said the women's participation in the discussion was higher than is normally the case in village public meetings. They had a strong presence in terms of attendance, even if they did not all speak. Their viewpoints, especially about the division of labour, marriage and low income problems were definitely heard.

(iii) Theatre Creation

The participation of the women in this stage was definitely higher than in the earlier stages of information gathering and data analysis.

In the *Mandelela* group, all the women participated very actively from the beginning to the end. They composed the songs, sang, narrated the story, danced and organized the performance. The only part allocated to men was the drumming. It so happens that the convention of the *Mandelela* dance requires that men be the drummers even though the dance is by women. In fact, for all the dances per-

formed in Namionga, the drummers were male. As mentioned previously, during the first day of the rehearsal, one man acted as interpreter for the group because the women spoke mostly in Kimakonde which had to be translated into Kiswahili for the animateurs. However, this interpreter was subsequently replaced by a young woman because the women perceived him as demonstrating a lack of respect for their views. The three animateurs, incidently, were also all men. However, *Mandelela* was basically a women's show.

The women in the *Teleza* group also displayed a high level of participation in the theatre creation as opposed to their silence in the data analysis process.

Nine girls participated in the *Ngokwa* and *Sindimba* dances in the theatre creation. The choreographer of these dances was a woman. Although the songs were composed by a man, the girls participated in performing the singing and dancing.

The girls also participated in the dramatic skits about the corrupt doctor. The role of the mother and that of the nurse were played by the girls. The role of the doctor, the people's militia and judge were cast to men. The drumming was all male.

An observation of the rehearsals and the creation process showed that the women participants were just as active as the men. The animateurs for this group included two men and one woman.

The women in the *Makadabada* group were also very active. In fact, they displayed even greater enthusiasm than *Teleza* in participating in composing the songs, the recitals, singing and dancing. Three women took a leadership role in assisting the animateurs in the running of the group and taking the leading roles in the performance. They played the roles of lead singers in all three songs. They also recited the poetry and participated in the general dancing. There were about 12 young girls who formed a troupe and presented a highly competent dance performance of the *Makadabada*. Although they were dancing with the rest of the group, they choreographed their own varieties of the dance movement and worked out a means of presenting a special show during the performance. Their performance received an enthusiastic response from the audience during the final show.

On the whole, it was observed that the women participated fully in the presentation. In spite of their many household chores and family responsibilities, they were always present for rehearsals all three days. It was surprising to find that, unlike other areas in Tanzania where Popular Theatre has been conducted, they did not come up with excuses of household chores to miss rehearsals. They came to the workshop at around ten in the morning and stayed until six in the evening. The animateurs discovered that they did their household and farming chores early in the morning before they came to the workshop. It is probable, too, that this was a season when there was not as much farming activity as at other times of the year. The tradition in this area of having only one meal a day reduced the women's time spent preparing and cooking food. Nevertheless, it must also be accepted that these women showed great commitment to making the workshop a success. The same was true for the men but more credit should go to women, considering the heavy responsibilities which they traditionally assume.

The women seemed to enjoy the process of theatre creation. It was obvious that they were participating, not because they were forced to, but rather, because they wanted to. Their familiarity and identification with and mastery of the artistic skills of the theatre

performances were also significant contributors to their level of participation. The women, and the men as well, felt very much at home with the whole process and identified with it. The skill they exhibited in dances demonstrated that these dances were part of their way of life; they were repeating a familiar activity.

Women also participated as an audience for the rehearsals. There were always large crowds gathered around the groups during the rehearsal. Women constituted the majority of this audience. They often stopped by on their way to perform their household chores. It was normal to see women with pails of water or baskets on their heads stopping for a long time to watch the rehearsals. At times they commented on what was going on or responded by laughing or agreeing to issues raised.

(iv) The Performance

The women participated both as performers in the three groups and as audience. Of the large audience of about 2,100, over half were women. The women present ranged in age from children to old women, as did the men in the audience.

Since there was active audience participation during the final performance, many women from the audience spontaneously joined the dances and participated as dancers because of their familiarity with the dances and the convention of African dance, which makes audience participation a normal phenomenon. Indeed, the women in the audience were much more active than the men in joining the performances. The numbers of women performers were, therefore, swelled by this mass participation during the performance.

There was also a lot of ululation, clapping and laughing in support of what was said or done in the performance.

(v) Post-performance discussion

Only three women spoke during the discussion out of 63 speakers. Two of them spoke twice and one of them spoke after a special call for the women to speak their minds. The rest of the women, who constituted over half the audience, restricted their participation to comments among themselves. It should be noted, however, that women applauded very loudly, and with a lot of ululation, points which touched on their problems: issues of water, grain milling, birth attendants and marriage problems. They did not express their views on the issues, even when one man charged that what the women had dramatized about irresponsible fathers was untrue.

This low level of participation by women can be attributed to the fact that the meeting was ineffectively conducted. The chairperson was not active and did not encourage women's participation, even though the issues under discussion affected women more than men.

On the other hand, however, the low participation could have been expected since the post-performance discussion took the form of a public meeting in which women traditionally do not participate actively. The pattern was similar to other public meetings.

However, there was a stark contrast between the high level of participation in the theatre process and performance and the lack of participation in the post-performance discussion.

Conclusion

The main conclusion of the Namionga project was that women participated actively as communicators when media familiar to them were used. The same women who were silent at public or committee meetings became

very active as singers, dancers, storytellers, poetesses or dramatists. Since the women possessed the skills to use these media, they used them effectively and with ease.

The Namionga project also revealed great potential in using the Popular Theatre process as one way of effecting the active participation of women. Together with ongoing efforts to strengthen women's role in the mass media, more effort can profitably be directed to the Popular Theatre process and other indigenous media that assist women in active participation in communication for development. ❑

APPENDIX

1. Mnume Akalela Mwana
   Sobwe
   Mnume akalela mwana
   Sobwe
   Nnole ayu koka nnole ya chinje

Translation:

A husband who only brings forth children
but does not know how to bring them up
is a big shame.
See this one, there is
this child and then this and another one in
the mother's stomach.
(Mandelela group).

2. Twatoa pongezi kwa wahisani
   Kutuletea chombo - aa
   Chombo cha uhai na maendeleo ya mtoto
   Twasema asante sana
   Nacho Chahimiza mo=toto apatiwe huduma zote aa
   Apate chakula cha kutosha kabisa na chanjo zote aa
   Chakula tunacho tatizo ni maji pia na madawa aa
   Mjua wahusika ndio mnaosaidia kifo cha mtoto aa
   Wote Mlaniwe oo mlaniwe kabisa wilaya nzima aa
   Tunamuomba Mungu mlanike kabisa wilaya nzima aa
   Tunamuomba Mungu mlanike kabisa popote mlipa aa

Translation:

We congratulate the donors
For bringing us this programme
The programme of child survival and development
The programme insists that a child gets all the services
The child should get enough food plus all immunizations
We have the food, the problem is water plus the drugs
Those of you who are responsible (for the water and drugs problem)
Are the ones who cause child-deaths
a curse to you all
May you be cursed properly in the whole district
We pray God that you be cursed properly wherever you are.

(Teleza Group)

3. Story-teller:	Jamani ee (Hear Me)
All:	Naam ndiyo (Yes Yes)
Story-teller:	Nilitembea huko na huko (I went to many parts)
All:	Naam ndiyo (Yes Yes)
Story-teller:	Nikaenda hadi kijiji cha Namionga, hadi kwenye zahanati (I went on to the village of Namionga up to the village dispensary)
All:	Naam ndiyo (Yes Yes)
Story-teller:	Nikawakuta watu wengi wamekaa wanazungumza (I found many people seated and talking)
All:	Naam ndiyo (Yes Yes)
Story-teller:	Nikawauliza jamani kuna nini hapa (I asked them what is happening here)
All:	Naam ndiyo (Yes Yes)
Story-teller:	Wakanijibu (They answered)
Singing the song:	Ewe mganga naomba dawa ya kichwa chauma Mganga akasema "nyoosha mkono upewe kwani madawa kwa kweli ni adimu"
Translation:	Doctor I would like some medicine my head is aching. The doctor said "stretch your arm and you will get some. You know that medicines are scarce".

(Teleza Group).

4. Ningelikuwa

Leaders:	Ninglikuwa kama mwenye kiti x 2 Ningeligawia vijana mashamba Ili Kukuza uchumi wetu.
Recitation:	(by a female artist) Mashamba yako wapi wajomba wanazuia
Chorus:	Ningelikuwa kama mwenyekiti x 2 Ningeligawia vijanamashamba Ili Kukuza uchumi wetu.
Recitation:	Vijana wanazurura kazi hawana
Chorus:	Ningelikuwa kama mwenyekiti x 2

	Ningeligawia vijana .....
Recitation:	Wizi na ulevi Vinaongezeka
Chorus:	Ningelikuwakama mwenyekiti x 2
	Ningeligawia vijana ....
Leaders:	Ningelikuwa kama katibu x 2
	Ningehimiza miradi ya vijana Ili kukuza uchumu wetu
Recitation:	(by a male artist)
	Mtaji wa mbolea na madawa uko wapi?
Chorus:	Ningelikuwa kama katibu x 2
	Ningelihimiza miradi .....
Recitation:	Mbolea ikija wanapewa mstafu
Chorus:	Ningelikuwa kama katibu x 2
	Ningelihimiza miradi .....
Recitation:	Mipango ifanywe mikopo iwe kwa wote.
Leaders:	Ningelikuwa katibu kata x 2
	Ningelifuatilia suala la elimu Ili kikuza uchumu wetu
Recitation:	(by a female artist)
	Elimu mbovu mawasiliano duni
Chorus:	Ningelikuwa katibu kata .....
Recitation:	(by a female artist)
	Elimu mbovu mawasiliano duni
Chorus:	Ningelikuwa katibu kata ....
Recitation:	Mawasiliano duni baba wa ujinga
Chorus:	Ningelikuwa katibu kata .....
Recitation:	Ujinga chanzo cha umaskini
Leaders:	Ningelikuwa kama diwani x 2
	Ningelifuatilia suala la maji
	Kuimarisha uhai wa mtoto
Recitation:	(male artist)
	Maji yatatoka wapi wenya visima wanahonga maji yasije
Chorus:	Ningelikuwa kama diwani x 2
	Ningelifuatilia suala .....
Recitation:	Uhai wa mtoto unategmea maji
Chorus:	Ningelikuwa kama diwani x 2
	Ningelifuatilia suala .....
Recitation:	Maji ndiyo msingi wa uhai wa mtoto.

Translation

Leaders:	If I were the village chairman
	I would allocate land to the youth in order to strengthen our economy
Recitation:	(by a female artist)
	Where is the land, the uncles don't want to let go
Chorus:	If I were the village chairman

Chorus:	If I were the village chairman I would allocate land to the youth In order to strengthen our economy
Recitation:	The youth are loitering because they have no work
Chorus:	If I were the village chairman
Recitation:	Theft and drunkness are rampant
Chorus:	If I were the village chairman.
Leaders:	If I were the village secretary I would promote youth projects In order to strengthen our economy
Recitation:	(by a male artist) Where is capital for fertilizers and pesticides.
Chorus:	If I were the village secretary
Recitation:	When the fertilizers come they are given to the well to do.
Chorus:	If I were the village secretary
Recitation:	Plans should be done to provide fertilizers for everybody
Leaders:	If I were the ward secretary I would follow-up on the issue of education In order to raise our economy
Recitation:	Plans should be done to provide fertilizers for everybody
Leaders:	If I were the ward secretary I would follow-up on the issue of education In order to raise our economy
Recitation:	(by a female artist) Bad education leads to poor communication
Chorus:	If I were the ward secretary
Recitation:	Poor communication leads to ignorance
Chorus:	If I were the ward secretary
Recitation:	Ignorance is the cause of poverty
Leaders:	If I were the councillor I would follow-up on the issue of water To improve child survival
Recitation:	Where will the water come from, those with private wells bribe (the water technicians) so as not to pump the water to this place.
Chorus:	If I were the councillor .....
Recitation:	Child survival depends on water.
Chorus:	If I were the councillor ....
Recitation:	Water is very basic to child survival.

(Makadabada Group)

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The Dilemma of Appropriate Media Selection for Dissemination of Development Information

by

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Introduction

> *In a minute or two the Caterpillar took the hookah out of its mouth... got down off the mushroom and crawled away into the grass, merely remarking as it went, "One side will make you grow taller and the other side will make you grow shorter." "One side of what? The other side of what?" thought Alice to herself. "Of the mushroom," said the caterpillar, just as if she had said it aloud...*
>
> *Alice remained looking thoughtfully at the mushroom for a minute, trying to make out which were the two sides of it; and as it was perfectly round, she found this a very difficult question.* (L. Carroll, Alice in Wonderland)

The challenge confronting Alice to decipher the meaning of the Caterpillar's cryptic advice is analogous to the challenge those of us who work in development face when we wish to ensure that research results, advances in technology or even basic information reaches intended beneficiaries in a form which they can readily understand and use. Like Alice, we are confronted with a bewildering diversity of options when we approach the problem of dissemination: what medium or combination of media will be most effective? Should we promote the writing of articles in scientific journals, or should we publish in collections of scientific essays? Or in the popular press? Or the rural press? Or in newsletters? Or in a book of our own? Maybe we should commission slide/tape presentations? Or produce videotapes? Or radio programmes? Or conduct poster campaigns? Or perhaps we should try to involve the beneficiaries themselves in the transfer of information using popular theatre techniques? Or should we combine several of these options to have greater impact? If we combine media, which ones work best together? The range of possibilities seems endless and the criteria for choosing one medium over another singularly unclear.

If we make the wrong choice, like Alice's eating the wrong piece of mushroom, we might find our impact shrinking instead of growing. And Alice's hookah-smoking Caterpillar

won't be around to offer advice and coach from the sidelines when we approach this mushroom.

In point of fact, although advocates of various media will each claim that their experience reveals that their medium of choice is the best, focusing on the medium out of the total context of its intended use is really counter-productive. For example, beginning in the late 1960's and throughout the 1970's, educational television was bruited as the technological miracle which would save education systems world-wide, making institutionalized education more compelling, relevant and cost effective (Burke, _____). The first world technocrats expected that developing countries could leap-frog their educational systems on the back of the television medium into the late 20th century with the introduction of televised lessons broadcast simultaneously throughout their countries (Mayo, 1976). Third world administrators responsible for education and confronted with chronic shortages of experienced teachers were led to believe that the introduction of educational television would simultaneously educate untrained teachers in pedagogical techniques and teach the children for whom they were responsible. While the technocrats spread their gospel throughout the developing world, thousands of teachers in the classrooms of the developed world cringed under the threat that television would make them redundant.

Now, almost (and, in some cases more than) twenty years after initial experiments in educational broadcasting, both in first and third world contexts, the worst fears of first world educators have proven groundless and the fondest hopes of technocrats and developing country administrators mere pipe dreams. In developed countries educational broadcasting experiments demonstrated that television alone is not a reasonable substitute for the teacher in the classroom, with or without television; similar, often lavish, experiments financed by donor agencies in third world countries foundered because of lack of attention to the immense complexity of variables which have to interact for television to be useful in a particular cultural context.

It has proven very difficult, however, to dampen the enthusiasm of those who believe in the capabilities of technology when they are enamoured of a new invention. Those who have a little knowledge of the potential benefits of communications technology overestimate what the communications hardware can do without skilled people to operate it and funds to maintain it.

That innovative media technologies have failed on their own to deliver educational miracles is not particularly surprising; a hammer lying on a work bench - or, indeed, in a skilled carpenter's tool kit - will not build a house on its own, either. Any piece of equipment or new technology is only as useful as the skill and creativity (in that order) of its human operator. And the communications media - from print to popular theatre - are merely tools to facilitate the accomplishment of some selected task. It is the human factor, the person choosing the medium and designing its use, that makes a medium more or less effective, not the medium itself. Focusing on the medium in isolation from the message, the users and the audience is useless.

So, what must we do, then, when faced with our version of Alice's mushroom? In Alice's case, even when she followed the Caterpillar's advice, she was besieged by a series of unfortunate experiences until she figured out the formula and its application: with the first bite, Alice shrank until her chin was on her feet; with the second bite,

she grew an extraordinarily long neck. It was only by trial and error applications of the mushroom antidote that she managed to regain normalcy.

Must we apply trial and error methodologies like Alice? To some degree the answer is, "Yes"; however, we can minimize the violent shifts in effects if we use common sense and treat the enthusiasm of the technocrats with a generous dose of situational reality.

First, we must look at the cultural fabric of the landscape into which we wish to penetrate, and based on what we find, design a media campaign which will complement what already exists. Rather than focusing our attention on the selection of the media, we must begin by paying strict attention to the message and the intended audience - everything except the media. We must choose the medium - or media - from a sound knowledge base of what is needed, what each available medium can do, what combination of media is complementary, how much it costs to deliver messages through those media and, of primary importance, what the culture and characteristics are of those we are trying to reach.

Surveying the Cultural Landscape

People whose business is communication - no matter what the medium - routinely ask, "Who is the target audience?" for any new production. While it may be easy enough to identify the general group (small farmers, teenagers, nursing mothers, middle managers or policy-makers), it is much more difficult to describe in detail the personal likes and dislikes, strengths and weaknesses, perceptions and habits of typical members of the identified group. Successful communicators begin by naming a select target group; however, in addition, they need to know in detail the notable and distinctive features of whatever group they identify.

Although those of us working in the development field would like to believe we are above what we perceive to be the crass materialism associated with the world of advertising, we must, nevertheless, acknowledge the advertising industry's success in reaching its intended audiences.

We have begun to learn some lessons about reaching target audiences from advertisers. Some groups have already adapted lessons from advertising to reach development clients (target audiences), calling their borrowed strategies "social marketing" techniques. UNICEF first used the term "social marketing" for its highly effective public education campaigns; however, it has now re-named its programmes "social mobilization" campaigns because of the emphasis placed on action rather than consumption. As in advertising, UNICEF has decided, even the name is important.

Before launching a marketing campaign for a new product, an advertising agency will learn all it can about the target market; if necessary, even conduct a thorough survey of the target segment of the population a client wishes to reach. This market research will establish the likes, dislikes, relevant habits, practices and behaviour patterns of the target group. When the agency designs the advertising campaign for the product, it calls upon its research findings to ensure audience appeal in its campaign, and then pre-tests the campaign and the product prior to their introduction.

While the elements of this strategy are "old news" to communicators, they are frequently forgotten in the development context. When the transfer is made from selling soap to promoting development innovations, the culture of the target audience is frequently ig-

nored in the selection and design of the media campaign. By concentrating on consideration of the merits of one medium over another, emphasis shifts from the human factor to the technology, ignoring the fundamental imperative to know the audience.

Some examples of mis-communication, which would be humorous if they were not such an obvious misallocation of resources, have resulted from a lack of understanding of the cultural landscape - the system of inter-connections between images and sounds - in which the target audience operates.

For example, it has been generally assumed that, while language may be a stumbling block to communication, images promote understanding more readily than words. While this comparison may be true within a specific cultural context, pictures are by no means universal in the meaning of their message across different cultural contexts. A notable exception to this assumption is contained in the UNICEF campaign which used posters to communicate water and sanitation messages to the rural population in a specific African country. A medium close-up photograph of a smiling 10-year-old black boy, whose skin was glistening in the sun and still beaded with water from the shower, failed to convey an image of good health; on the contrary, when the image was tested, the vast majority of respondents in the target community identified the boy as having malaria, seeing beads of sweat rather than water on his skin, and a grimace of pain rather than a smile on his face. Their primary association with beads of water on the skin was not cleanliness and good health, but rather serious - even fatal - illness. So much for the universality of messages conveyed by photographs.

Another popular misconception about visual imagery is that cartoons communicate better than print to semi-literate and illiterate audiences. In 1988, the International Centre for Research in Agroforestry (ICRAF) designed a media campaign to communicate agroforestry messages to rural farmers employing poster-size cartoons to deliver information. However, a sample survey of audience response to the cartoon posters revealed that the villagers prefer to receive what they perceive as "serious" information through straight print rather than cartoons, which, they perceive, make a joke of important messages. Many villages in the region to which the campaign was targeted have appointed readers, who are responsible for the delivery of print information to less literate members of the community - a feature of the cultural landscape overlooked by the campaign planners.

When we, as individuals, communicate information to others in an informal setting, we instinctively use the bank of experiential knowledge we have about our audience in order to tailor our messages - both in content and form - to suit the circumstances. In most cases, because we are conveying information in a known setting, where we share common assumptions about the world around us with those with whom we are communicating, much of the necessary information processing is unconscious: a young man, for instance, instinctively selects different details to tell his elderly aunt about his date with a beautiful young woman last week from those he will relate to his male colleagues at work. At the very least, the editorial content and emphasis are different, even though the basic information may be the same. And, undoubtedly, the delivery of the message will be quite different, too!

Need for Research

Faced with the problem of message design and media selection for a less well-known audience, the selection and

presentation of information has to be governed by thorough research into the culture, rituals and customs of the intended audience.

To illustrate this point further, let us construct a hypothetical situation. We have been approached by the Community Health Department of a rural division in Kenya to design a campaign to educate young nursing mothers about the importance of attending the weekly health clinic. To undertake this assignment and actually do a creditable job, before we begin, we need to assess what we know and what we need to know.

We know that all young nursing mothers are female, but what constitutes "young"? What is the age range of this group? How many are there in the community? How large is the community of which they form a part? How "rural" is rural, and how scattered are the members of our target group? What proportion of the total population of nursing mothers does this group represent? What is their relationship to the whole community? To the larger society? Are the young nursing mothers in this particular community markedly different from others in Kenya? If so, how are they different? Is the education level of young nursing mothers average for the community (including men)? Is it lower? Higher? Other questions we need to ask are: what is the literacy level of this group? And in what language(s)? Is their predominant language of communication the same as the language in which they are literate? What choice of media do these nursing mothers have access to? Which media do they prefer to use? What time of the day do they access these media? How do they access these media? Does this group have any power in the society as a whole? In their family grouping? How do these young women relate to typical family groupings in the society? Do these young mothers work at anything else besides raising their babies? If so, what do they do? What other occupations would they have familiarity with in their immediate social grouping? What values are of particular importance to them? What do they value most? What religion do they practise? How do they spend their leisure time? What do they fear? How far do these young women have to travel to attend the weekly clinic? How many of them currently make the trip to the clinic? How are those who visit the clinic perceived in the community? Do the opinion leaders in their group and their community perceive there to be any benefits in the young nursing mothers and their babies attending the clinic? Do the young women perceive any benefits?

The list will grow when the target audience is real rather than imaginary, as it is in this case, but the answers to each of the questions - and the spin–offs which occur - are all important to message design and media selection. And the method employed to actually collect this information will make what is learned more or less accurate and valuable.

The fact that greater knowledge of the target audience increases the potential impact of the message, no matter what the medium to be used for delivery, is leading more and more policy-makers, donor agency personnel and community workers to the realization that involving members of the target group itself in the decision-making about message design and delivery will increase the effectiveness of the campaign better than any anthropological survey, however good it is. Thus, participatory research methodologies are gaining currency, and those media which are also participatory, are being used to reinforce the effectiveness of the "top down" mass media for deliv-

ery of development messages.

The Significance of Skilled Personnel in Media Design and Production

Human resources need to be considered not only when discussing the target audience, but also when selecting appropriate media. The available human resources to design, develop and produce the messages need to be identified during the media selection process. Unfortunately, in many instances, the focus is on the acquisition of equipment and technology without mentioning either how the equipment will be used or who will use it.

One of the latest "equipification" crazes is computer hardware for desktop publishing. The apparent advantages are that the micro computer is relatively inexpensive and, according to the manufacturers, the system and software are "user friendly". Most proposals for the acquisition of a personal computer and laser printer assume that the equipment will make the organization capable of producing newsletters, journals and leaflets for various user groups. Rarely is mention made of training for the staff expected to operate the system - or even allocating selected staff time within their existing workload to carry out their new duties as desktop publishers. Nor do these proposals pay any attention to the necessity to have the camera-ready copy thus produced printed. If an organization's primary problem is getting its information printed and disseminated, the acquisition of desktop publishing equipment will not address the actual needs, but merely compound the problem.

Here, again, is an amateur technocrat's world view: obtain the equipment and our problems will be solved, just as education problems were supposed to be solved with the placement of television sets in classrooms 25 years ago.

Cost Considerations in Media Selection

Realistically, one of the primary concerns in the design of a media campaign is the cost. Since all of us in organizations, whether public or private, are ultimately accountable to financial officers, virtually every mediated public education/information campaign must be cost effective.

If the intended audience is small, the likelihood is that the mass media will be too costly in time, human resources and money. If the target audience is fewer than 400, even professional printing may be too costly an undertaking. The spirit duplicator and the photocopier may still be the most useful resources for reaching groups smaller than 20; the traditional Gestetner duplicating machine may still the most economical way of disseminating print and line drawings to groups composed of fewer than 150. Essentially, then, public education campaigns employing mediated resources must be large enough to warrant the costs involved.

But costs are not the only consideration. A classic development story originates in West Africa where, in the late 1960's, an expensive, apparently well-planned radio listening campaign targeted to small farmers lost its listenership as the batteries for radios provided through the project wore out. While the farmers liked the programmes and appreciated their content, without batteries they could no longer listen. The moral of the story, if there is one, is that a media campaign is not complete with its design and implementation; delivery of programming must be followed to determine its impact and to ensure that the programme meets expectations.

The following are some very personal observations about the selection and design of mediated messages for the dissemination of information and research findings in the development context.

Particular Considerations in Selected Media Formats

Using Print Formats

Although print is perhaps the most flexible of media, since it can be combined with visuals and targeted to many different audiences, there are some basic considerations in using print which are frequently overlooked. Of primary importance is the language and level of literacy of a selected target audience; however, equally important is the amount of time members of the target audience have for reviewing print. For example, although all of us are undoubtedly considered highly literate - perhaps in a number of languages - we may, in fact, be too busy most days to allocate much concentrated time to reading extensive documents. For this reason, most reports have executive summaries and virtually all theoretical papers have abstracts summarizing their content. Effective use of print demands simplicity, precision of language and the elimination of all extraneous information.

There are a number of useful formats which have proven their worth in the dissemination of development information; however, a rule of thumb worth remembering in the selection of a specific print medium is that the longer the print documentation, the more limited the audience likely to read it when it is disseminated.

There are two very useful, potentially low-cost print formats of particular use for disseminating development information.

For circulating a very limited amount of precise information to a large audience, the circular or flyer - a format almost always restricted to one or two pages - can be both economical and extremely effective. A flyer which can also be fastened to a wall as a poster serves a dual purpose: immediate information dissemination and longer term reminder promotion of the information. However, making a flyer serve double duty demands extra money invested in graphics and may also mean colour separation to enhance the attractiveness of the final product, encouraging its prominent display.

If the target audience is known to have limited literacy skills, the poster alone, with visual representations of essential information, may best accomplish the task. In such circumstances, the poster design and message comprehension need careful consideration and widespread testing prior to mass production.

If the audience is sizeable, newsletters are a relatively cheap, easy way to disseminate information to middle level managers, policymakers, development workers and members of any basically literate group. Traditionally, they are brief and can range in presentation from slick, coated paper vehicles with several accompanying black-and-white photos to manually typed, Gestetnered circulars on newsprint. An important feature too often overlooked in the establishment of a newsletter is the necessity for it to appear reliably; if it is to be published quarterly, it should appear on schedule. The dependability of publication affects the target audience's perception of the validity of information it contains.

The popular news magazine format, such as *Development Horizons* in Kenya, can serve the information needs of decisionmakers and a middle class audience, but such an undertaking is a

separate enterprise in itself, requiring a full time investment of energy, staff and sizeable resources to establish credibility and function effectively.

Lengthier publications, such as journals, books and monographs serve much smaller audiences; these audiences include the highly educated; the majority of the audience is comprised of the scientific and academic communities and policymakers.

In Africa, given the world-wide difficulties being experienced by journals, there is a question about the viability of any journal, no matter what the target group for which it is produced. Journal editors in Africa are primarily academics who contribute their energies to the journal's production voluntarily and on a part-time basis. Competent technical editors are scarce; the majority of available editorial resources are poorly trained and, in some countries, virtually non-existent.

It is an economic reality that no African journal which must generate revenue from subscriptions to be sold outside the country in which the journal is produced will ever be able to be self-sufficient, since access to foreign currency for journal subscriptions in many African countries is a very low priority and, even in the best of circumstances, extremely difficult. The donor who supports journal production is only sustaining a dependency on external funding; when the donor ceases support, the journal must then "hustle" another member of the donor community for support.

The advent of the photocopier has meant that academics do not have to subscribe to journals to access articles in which they are interested, and library subscriptions alone, no matter how high the fees, cannot be expected to carry a quarterly publication.

In North America and Europe, venerable and reputable journals which are conducting aggressive marketing campaigns among their target audience are, nevertheless, being subsidized by professional organizations' membership fees. However, in the face of currency restrictions and limited target audiences whose members have little money to invest in subscriptions, the likelihood of similar systems working in Africa is doubtful at best. And journal exchange programmes do not pay the bills for producing journal issues.

Using the Electronic Mass Media

i) Educational Radio and Radio Learning Groups

In Africa, probably the most useful mass medium, next to simplified forms of print and the poster, is radio. Radio is portable, accessible without electricity, relatively economical (although not easy to produce) and almost universally available. Large percentages of all strata of the society access radio as a matter of course on a regular basis for entertainment, news, weather information, cultural programming and religious services. In Kenya, for example, even when farmers have access to other media, they still choose radio as their preferred source of information (Ngechu 1991).

Radio's universality and popularity have led to community radio programming in many countries - radio programming designed for local interest groups and broadcast on low frequency transmitters to a very restricted geographical locale.

Radio learning groups, which combine carefully designed radio programmes targeted to a specific group of listeners with group discussion techniques and regular participatory evaluations of the usefulness of the programming, are a popular and suc-

cessful development strategy in many developing countries, including Botswana, Ghana, and Nigeria. The design targets a specific segment of the listening population (e.g. farmers with small land holding), broadcasts programming designed specifically for the interests and needs of this target group and combines information with discussion activities to be undertaken by the listening group at the conclusion of the programme. The same group of listeners participate in the evaluation of the programmes and discussions as a regular feature of their meetings (Kidd 1977).

The most successful radio listening group projects have involved the listeners themselves in the development of programme topics for broadcast and later discussion.

At present, much of the broadcast radio programming designed to be "educational" is presented in the style of primary school teachers' techniques of 40 years ago. The programmes reflect the assumption that the listener who needs the information in the programme is willing to be patronized. In fact, such broadcasting not only weakens the potential of the medium, but makes people's receptivity to "educational" programming much less.

Although it requires limited technical equipment, radio production itself demands a level of acquired technical skill, if it is to be broadcast quality. Currently, in order to be economical, much educational broadcasting for radio is produced by people who have very limited training in the radio medium. Therefore, the format of much "educational" radio is less than professional, making it, unfortunately, virtually "unlistenable" radio - radio that all but specific students who need the information delivered in the radio lecture will turn off. Much attention needs to be paid to the practical training of educational radio producers and broadcasters to improve the quality of this programming if the medium is to continue to be a useful one for dissemination of development information.

ii) Video Production and Small Format Video Use

As video recorders and cameras become less expensive and easier to manage, more and more groups assume that visual images are the best way to overcome the challenge of reaching groups with minimal literacy capabilities. However, less costly equipment does not compensate for lack of skill among the potential users of the medium. The acquisition of video equipment demands extensive training of specific personnel in programme design, equipment operation and maintenance for maximum benefit from the equipment's use. Without such training, the equipment will soon be relegated to permanent storage.

Once there are trained staff who can operate the video equipment, video programmes are of particular use for delivering demonstration messages to small groups of people where there is access to electricity or a power source. But it is also important to remember the lessons taught by the educational television experiments in a variety of countries: television, because it is a one-way communication medium, often raises as many questions as it answers; therefore, video programmes are best viewed in the presence of a human resource who is comfortable with the medium, and who can both operate the equipment and answer any questions arising from programmes presented. Therefore, video learning groups may be as necessary as radio learning groups for real information dissemination.

Despite popular mythology to the contrary, amateur video programming

is most likely to be very weak in conveying information about how to accomplish a particular task. Unless the camera person understands basic principles of composing visual images and has handled the camera long enough to be able to keep it still, the introduction of video technology into the acquisition of a skill will slow down the learning process.

There is no doubt, however, that video, especially small format video, produced to examine issues relating to a group's traditional environment and usual way of life, is a powerful community action tool and a useful medium for allowing people to see themselves, to validate their ideas and actions. However, it does not, in and of itself, communicate detailed information, and the capabilities of the medium in relation to the level of skill and sophistication of the production must be kept in mind when deciding to employ this medium.

Perhaps the greatest untapped potential of the video recording, however, lies in its persuasive capability to convince policymakers and government officials of the benefits of particular programmes. While it is very difficult to get the attention of a policymaker for any extended period of time when he is at his desk during the working day, and even more difficult if one is using the print medium, being able to provide him or her with a short, well-produced videotape to carry home and watch in the comfort of his or her own home after supper can accomplish much more than trying to compete for attention in the office milieu.

The kind of high quality video production needed to accomplish this task, and compete against high budget entertainment video programming, however, should be allocated to professional media houses, not to amateur groups. What the developer has to know as television producer is what he/she wants to say. Isolating and articulating a discrete message which is deliverable in the television medium is not an easy task nor an easily acquired skill.

Using Popular Theatre Techniques

Over the past 20 years, development workers throughout the world have been discovering the power of traditional drama forms for disseminating information to grassroots communities. Since popular theatre derives from traditional communication forms - stories, songs, dances and chants - it is immediately compelling and possesses the ability to communicate directly to community groups. Popular theatre involves the members of the community itself as producers and performers to design and articulate the messages and substance of the entertainment - a further insurance that the cultural imperatives of a society are honoured in the methods of presentation.

Perhaps the serious limitation in employing popular theatre as a dissemination technique is the number of people who can be involved in the process at a given time. While development literature reveals it to be an extremely effective medium with small groups and single communities, the amount of time and energy involved in introducing and employing the techniques to small groups of people make it of limited value for large scale media campaigns, except as an ancillary medium for reinforcement of information at the community level.

Selecting and Combining Potential Resources for Effective Dissemination

It is unlikely that any successful dissemination of development infor-

mation or technology can be accomplished by simply choosing and using one medium.

For example, should the target audience of mythical young nursing mothers generated earlier prove to be illiterate in English, but capable of reading in a vernacular language to Grade IV level, it might be useful to design flyers-cum-posters to circulate in centres where they tend to visit (including, of course, the Health Centres).

However, the flyers alone will probably only "preach to the converted", not saturate the communications network sufficiently to invoke change in those who do not currently visit the Health Centres. Having decided on flyers/posters, the organizers of the campaign will have to examine the anthropological research findings to decide what else might be useful to deliver the message. If the research shows interest in and frequent access to radio, this medium might be worth simultaneous use. At the same time, if the women have any traditional community contact, it could be worth exploring the use of the popular theatre techniques within the customary meeting context to give the messages further exposure and consideration. The critical issue here is that a combined media campaign should be simultaneous, not sequential. There is little point in trying one medium, testing for behaviour change, then trying another, and testing again. Target audience saturation is the key to making an impression which can encourage behaviour change.

The Importance of Message Testing and Evaluation in Mediated Dissemination Strategies

To complete the discussion, let us return to the Alice in Wonderland analogy by way of final admonition. Just as Alice had to experiment with the proposed mushroom antidote, so the designers of mediated information dissemination must undertake some "educated guessing"; however, the design of information or public education campaigns without assigning funds for responsible pre–testing of the messages to be disseminated is analogous to the Caterpillar's leaving Alice to her own initially confounding devices: to promote understanding of a mediated message, there must be formally planned message testing (and, if necessary, revision and re-testing) prior to the campaign launch. The campaign results must be evaluated regularly as the campaign progresses. Simply planning and implementing a mediated campaign is not sufficient.

Conclusions

The challenge of separating the enthusiasm of the technocrats from the practical reality of what the media can really accomplish, given limitations in funding and availability of trained staff, places us squarely in Alice's shoes as she tries to figure out the Caterpillar's advice: it is "... a very difficult question".

As communicators and as people with the responsibility to communicate with a variety of target audiences, the challenge is exciting and open for creative applications of a variety of media. But, like Alice, the less we understand the message about the mushroom, the more carefully we must apply the advice we receive. ❑

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RURAL NEWSPAPER FORA

Another Model of Communication for Development

by

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Introduction

This paper is yet another contribution to the conceptual analysis of how a participatory rural newspaper can contribute to communication for development in the countryside. It proposes that rural people can use the publication as a rallying point for formal and informal discussions with development agents to improve their own life situation.

Like a number of other recent treatises on communication for development, the basic thought underlying this paper is that the future of communications for development in the Third World lies in the shift from the use of big to small media like participatory rural newspapers. It is suggested that governments and NGOs which want to make use of development communication strategies take serious note of the suggestion.

The micro model of communication for development which is presented here may, of course, be applied to other localized media instead of the participatory rural newspaper. But the adaptation would require adjustments, both in the theoretical and procedural approach, to suit the particular mini medium.

The paper contends that development communication is far from having run its course. New modules in the use of particular localized media, such as the one presented here, need to be theorized and tested.

Definitions and Review of Literature

We have come a long way in the conceptualization of communication for development from the time, more than 30 years ago, when scholars thought it was a straightforward phenomenon of

simply telling people what to do so that innovation can be diffused (Lasswell 1927; Schramm 1964), to the present when some thinkers are openly admitting that development communication has reached a state of clarified confusion (Nair and White 1989). Some academics even claim that development communication has run its course and has little new to offer in the matter of practical strategies (Kumar 1989). In this long period, scholars have agreed, disagreed or simply agreed to disagree on not only the role communication should play in enhancing rural development, but also on what development is, how it is carried out and how communication for development ought to be conducted.

There has been so much scholarly debate on the issue that one can no longer take for granted any of the key concepts, no matter how plain they seem. Meanings are in a constant state of flux. Development communication (DC) itself is one such concept. For some academics DC is different from development support communication (DSC). DC is said to be based on top-down, big media-centred, government-to-people communication. On the other hand, DSC is seen as being focused on co-equal, little media-centred government-with-people communication (Ascroft and Masilela 1989; Jayaweera 1989; Nair and White 1987). Some scholars, however, like Coldevin (1990) use DC and DSC inter-changeably. They see both as providing two-way information links between government agencies and the community in which each of them initiates dialogue.

Similarly, there is lack of consensus on the corresponding notions of development communicator and development support communicator. One would assume that those who hold that DC is the passing on of innovation information from top to bottom, would also hold that the development communicator is a specially trained person who initiates this "trickle down" effect. This, however, is not the case. Even believers in the role of the peasants to determine their own development like Nair, White, Ascroft and Masilela also hold that a development communicator should be a specially trained professional who links the bureaucrats, experts and scientists to the "grassroots" target audience. They see him or her as a special breed, but one who needs to be accepted by the target groups (Nair and White 1987). Ascroft and Masilela similarly argue for a professional development communicator whose primary training is in the social sciences with a focus on communication. They maintain that such a person has to

> *...manage, interalia, the more ticklish problems of bringing such disparate types of people as development benefactors and their targeted beneficiaries into meaningful functional participation with each other for the purposes of useful development decision-making.* (Ascroft and Masilela 1989).

Scholars like Jacobson (1989), see the development communicator as a person who is engaged in communication among equals in various settings, including meetings, as well as through the mass media.

The concept of development, too, has been given many meanings ranging from that of being all things to all men and women, which proponents of "another development" or the multiplicity paradigm hold (Servaes 1986), to the old dominant paradigm or modernization theory which sees it as the diffusion of innovation from Western countries to the Third World (Schramm 1964).

"Another development" places individual and self-determination in the

forefront. People have to decide what kind of development they want, how they want it and then go on and secure means to work towards it. On the other hand, according to the modernization paradigm, the Third World is supposed to be transformed to the affluence of Western nations, including the technology, by adopting (not adapting) Western economic and social structures. Contrary to some premature eulogies, the dominant paradigm has not yet passed away (Rogers 1976). It is still very much alive, albeit in subtle forms, disguising itself under various nice-sounding names. Just as there remain various remnants of the dominant theory, there also exist varieties of the multiplicity theory.

Between the two extremes is a whole cluster of development models such as those of dependency (which does not seem to be credited to one particular person), transactional (Nair and White 1987), participatory (enunciated but not started at the University of Poona seminar in 1989), basic needs, renewal etc. Some, perhaps most, of these models are not really variants of either of the two extremes but merely recycled wine in the same old bottles.

Most of the paradigms that have been advanced on the role of communication in development have dealt with communication and/or mass communication generally and wholly at a macro level. While these approaches are valuable in that they enable us to acquire a more or less complete conceptual framework of the phenomenon, their usefulness in practice is rather limited. What we need are more studies on the role of communication and/or mass communication in development that deal with content - and content has everything to do with the type of medium being used. Then the all-important question has to be answered: is the medium of communication being discussed available to the people whose development is being discussed? In other words, as communication scientists, we should be theorizing more on possibilities and less on potentialities of mass communication.

Our models would be more practically useful if they were micro-centred, discussing how a particular mass medium which is available to ruralists can be used (Lowe 1989). The Third World now needs studies and modules on communication for development such as those on the use of video in rural development (White 1987; White and Patel 1988; Belbase 1987; Dubey and Bhanja 1989), the use of local radio Ansah 1990; Moemeka 1987, 1980; Peigh 1979; Hall and Dodds 1977; Rogers et. al. 1977), the use of rural newspapers (Kasoma 1988; 1989a; 1989b; 1990a; 1990b; Kasoma and Leslie 1990, and Kasoma and Machila 1989). Such studies have the advantage of being tested in scholarly data banks as seems to be the case with the macro studies which have flooded the discipline of development communication in the last two decades.

This paper is further contribution to earlier works by the author to micro modules on the use of rural newspapers in communication for development (CD). The term CD is used rather than DC or DSC to avoid the unnecessary debate referred to earlier which the two terms have sparked off.

"Development" in this paper means the improvement in the human life condition at individual and societal levels which is achieved through desirable but fluctuating changes or adjustments in the environment. Environment here means the sum total of all that goes into making the human life situation. It includes the physical and the psychological vicissitudes of the human life situation.

The type of improvement has to be

determined or at least sanctioned by the villagers themselves and not by outsiders. The dialectics leading to this improvement are carried out through a process of interaction, dialogue and joint actions by all those involved and not by super-thinkers, the so-called experts or change agents coercing villagers directly or indirectly towards what they conceive to be desired change.

The term "change" is today being shunned from the development vocabulary of some scholars because it assumes a continuum from less perfect to a more perfect state of affairs (Ascroft and Masilela 1989). It also paints development as a unilinear continuum. Development is a complicated human phenomenon which sometimes involves stagnation or merely keeping the *status quo*, or at times even retrogression i.e. moving from something more perfect to something less perfect so as to make a leap to something better, hence the term "fluctuating" in the definition. Development involves all aspects of human life. Economic well-being, which, some scholars stress, forms but a small and sometimes questionable part, since the state of being affluent at times infringes on other forms of human well-being. For example, the Third World has come to realize that rich people often lack the humaneness of the poor and can, therefore, be said to be less developed in this aspect of human relations.

The theme in this paper is that communication and, hence, communication for development (CD), is seen as the sharing of the human environment or life situation in which the participants take part as equals (Jacobson 1989). All are active and continuously involved in roles as communicators and communicatees. CD is seen as an interactive process that works in a circular, dynamic and on-going way (Hiebert, Ungurait and Bohn 1985). It's a process with no permanent sender and receiver (Moemeka 1989). It is more than an activity in which the target audience is

> *acquiring knowledge and skill which enables people to change themselves, their lifestyles, their environment, their perceptions about self and their relationship to the environment* (Nair and White 1987).

Villagers, too, have a lot to offer during the interaction. They are not just receivers. As Ascroft and Masilela state, they have acquired over the millennia a wealth of experience which ought to be shared with the development agent (Ascroft and Masilela 1989).

This writer, therefore, prefers the term development agent (DA) to change agent (CA) because CA suggests wholesale displacement of what the villagers have acquired during the many years they have existed as a people. Surely development, even in the Western sense, like knowledge, should mean building on what is already there and not starting from a vacuum. Scientific knowledge may, at times, give way to indigenous wisdom. When, for instance villagers pound blue gum leaves and boil them with honey to treat a cough, the modern doctor would be unwise to insist that they should use cough syrup from the drug shop when both medicines are equally effective but the traditional one is more readily available, since the leaves and the honey are provided by nature.

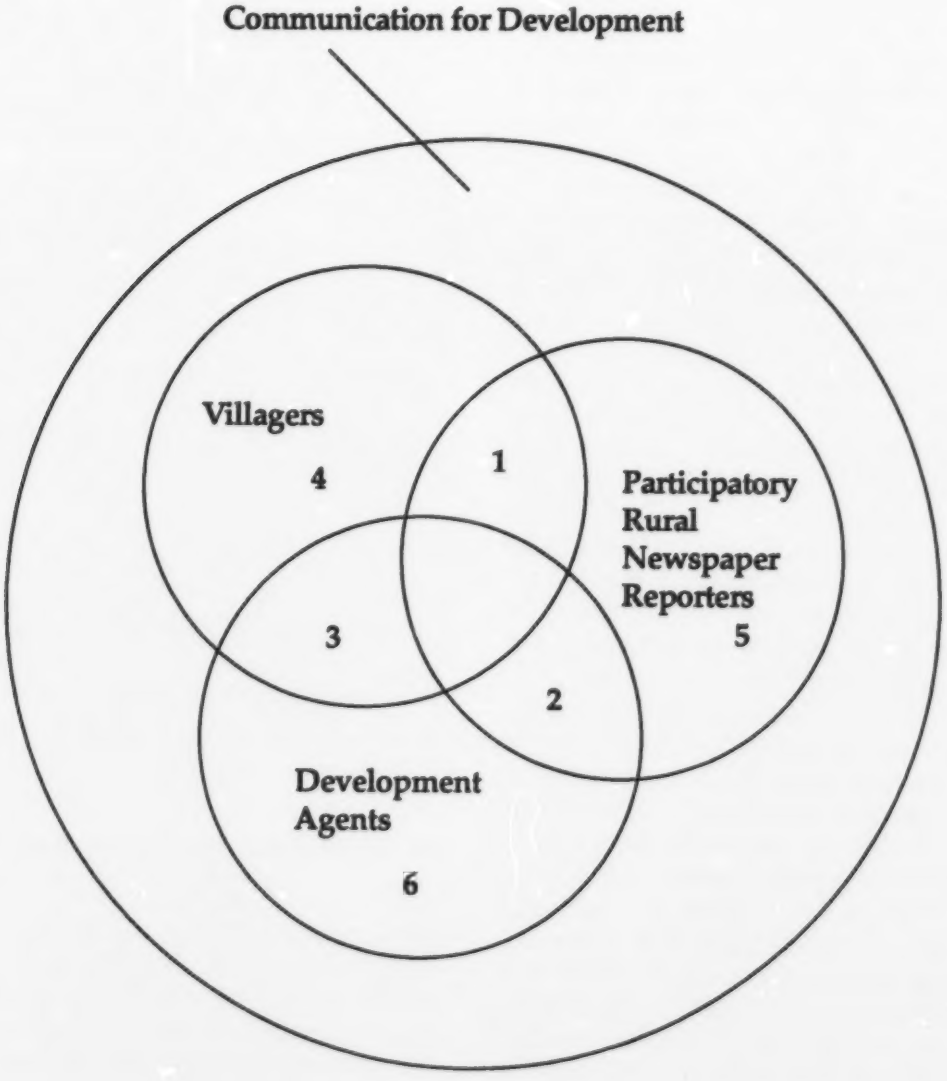
Participatory Rural Newspaper Fora

In an earlier paper on "The Reciprocal Agenda-Setting Model for a Participatory Rural Newspaper", the author's purpose was to show how the various sectors of a village community can interact among themselves and with those writing for the publication to set

their own development agenda (Kasoma 1989b). (A participatory rural newspaper is defined as a regular publication on current events and issues by and for the ruralists which is published in their own locale).

This paper goes further to elaborate on this model by presenting a conceptual analysis of CD showing how villagers, participatory rural newspaper reporters (PRNRs) and development agents (DAs) can interact in order to enhance development.

Diagrammatic Representation of Communication for Development Centred Around a Rural Newspaper Forum



The intersecting circles in the diagram are indicative of the reciprocal nature of the give-and-take communication process in which there are no permanent senders or receivers, change agents or target audience. They also suggest the mutual relationship, a "belonging-togetherness" that should exist among the three sides in the communication for development (CD) process. PRNRs should be a part and parcel of the village community. In short, they need to be villagers themselves even when they happen to come from outside. The process of the interaction would depend on how the villagers accept DAs and PRNRs as being able to understand them (in a mechanical manner) and, more importantly, share and have empathy for their predicaments in life.

The DAs, who include government extension workers such as those in health, agriculture, and community development, the PRNRs and the rest of the villagers need to discuss, both formally and informally, issues raised in the participatory rural newspaper. These are issues which, according to the participatory agenda-setting model, they contributed to when the newspaper was being processed for publication (Kasoma 1989). Now the aim of the discussions would be to brainstorm on solutions to problems raised and make decisions for action. For problems whose solutions have already been found and implemented, the fora would have to evaluate the actions and decide whether they have met or are meeting expectations.

The rural press fora are more effective if they are small-group discussions rather than public rallies. The objectives of the interactions are better achieved if the groups are small to allow for meaningful interpersonal communication. The discussion groups would also interact better if they were based on their members' sharing common interests. For instance, if the rural newspaper has published an article raising some issues regarding ante-natal problems which the villagers are facing, a forum of women with child-bearing experience would be more useful and appropriate to discuss the problems than a mixed group of men, women, boys and girls.

The convenor of the dialogue could come from among the villagers, the DAs or the PRNRs. But he or she should be capable of keeping the mutual exchange flowing and not be someone who is merely interested in issuing prescriptions to any of the three sides. DAs could spoil the mutual exchange if they adopted their now almost traditional role of coming to the discussions as "experts" who are there to tell the "ignorant" villagers what to do. They need to be realistic and willing to accept ideas from villagers which are reasonable and practical but which may be different or even opposed to theirs. After all, it is the villagers who have to implement these ideas and not the DAs. DAs have no need to be prescriptive even when the so-called scientific solutions seems to be the only efficacious way of solving specific problems. They need to solicit opinions from the villagers rather than adopt a dogmatic approach. There is little use in insisting on "expert" solutions that are unimplementable. By consulting rather than imposing solutions on villagers, the DAs get a good idea of the practical efficacy of these solutions.

African countries periodically churn out thick volumes of grandiose development plans which seemingly emphasize rural development. In these volumes the transformation of the "undeveloped" countryside over a given period, usually five years, is described in detail. One state released a plan ten years ago in which village development centres were to be estab-

lished throughout the country which would serve as models of rural development with basic facilities and small-scale industries. Those centres still remain a pipedream. The announcement of the intention to establish them may have served consciously or unconsciously as a ploy to attract external funding, some of which may have been misdirected to some other prestigious projects. DAs who work on such paper projects need villagers to infuse in them some realism.

The dialogue, however, need not be dominated by the villagers as the "receiver" as Nair and White (1987) suggest in their transactional model. Rather the interaction should, as Ascroft and Masilela (1989) have rightly stated, foster knowledge-sharing between the villagers and the DAs to promote a multidirectional flow of information. The transaction needs to be seen as one in which all parties concerned are active participants and co-equal in decision-making power. One would be unwise to state, as Coldevin does that one of the most basic operational areas of DSC (in this paper referred to as CD)

> *rests in simply informing rural people of new ideas, services and technologies for improving their quality of life, and attempting to influence attitudinal postures towards methods of food production.* (Coldevin 1990)

Even on issues that might appear to be basic and straight-forward, the development agent should not "simply inform" the villagers. There is a need for him or her to solicit the villagers' opinions and reactions to the information. Do they accept it as a reasonable and workable proposition? If they do not support it, what are their reasons? Have they got alternative suggestions? These and similar questions should be asked and answered in the dialogue.

The villagers, on the other hand, should accept a give-and-take situation during the dialogue. They need to desist from the temptation to rely too much on their experience, not allowing themselves to be influenced by new ideas. They should leave room for their experiences to be modified or even changed by new ideas as long as such ideas are sound, reasonable and workable. The saying that the villagers know what is best for them does not mean that they should cut themselves off from outside ideas. What it does mean is that whoever wants to introduce new ideas to villagers should consult them first before making his or her proposals.

The third party in the forum, the PRNR, has the role of an informal or formal rapporteur who should report highlights of the deliberations in the newspaper. Some of the issues he or she reports could themselves be agendas for future dialogues until they are resolved. In this way, the participatory rural newspaper would not only set the agenda for the forum but the forum would in turn keep feeding it with the people's agenda.

Like any good rapporteur, the PRNR needs to be an active participant in the dialogue, contributing ideas which offer solutions to some of the problems. After all, he or she is a member of the community and not just an onlooker. The fora would afford the PRNR many excellent opportunities to appreciate the villagers' life situation and therefore be able to express it better in his or her reportage.

The centre segment of the diagram represents the interaction between and among the three groups just described. But this tripartite dialogue is only part of the total picture of CD involving a participatory rural newspaper. There are other levels of interaction which are indicated in the diagram with segments numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. The

numbers are arbitrary and do not represent any sequence.

Interaction 1 takes place between the villagers and the PRNRs. The two groups may meet to discuss the contents of the newspaper. These discussions could be mainly centred on follow-up information to that which has been published which the PRNRs are seeking from the villagers and clarifications which villagers may seek from reporters on the information that has been published.

Interaction 2 takes place between PRNRs and DAs. Reporters may seek some new or additional information from DAs while the latter would want to confer with PRNRs on the best way of reporting certain technical information to the villagers in the rural newspaper.

Interaction 3 is the direct communication between villagers and DAs which may take place not only to discuss issues raised in the local newspaper but also those not covered. This interaction includes field trips by DAs and their consultations with villagers.

Segments 4, 5 and 6 represent intragroup dialogue. Interaction 4 takes place among villagers themselves. They may discuss issues raised in the local newspaper as well as those discussed during the dialogues with PRNRs and DAs (1 and 3). The villagers are also likely to discuss issues raised in the tripartite discussions. The latter type of discussion is a useful way of spreading not only the deliberations of the tripartite forum but also the contents of the participatory rural newspaper to villagers who may be illiterate or who may have missed the particular issue containing the information discussed. The villagers may, of course, discuss other developmental issues not covered either in the rural newspaper nor in any of the discussions.

Interaction 5 occurs among PRNRs themselves as they gather, process, write and publish the information in the rural newspaper. It also includes the post-mortem discussion to evaluate a particular edition of the newspaper which every newspaper office conducts. The post-mortem should, preferably, take place before any of the joint fora are conducted. This would enable PRNRs to explain some of the issues regarding treatment of stories which may or may not be raised during the joint discussions.

Finally, interaction 6 is that conducted among DAs as a professional group. It includes technical, ministerial, departmental as well as inter-departmental meetings and consultations. The agenda in some of these meetings may include issues reported in the local newspaper. The DAs may, for instance, want to clarify a technical issue that was misrepresented in the local newspaper report or merely clarify procedural matters on how to communicate certain technical information directly to the villagers without using the participatory rural newspaper.

Discussion of Model

Rural media fora are not new in the Third World. Radio rural fora have been used fairly effectively in Ghana (Dakar 1979), Nigeria (Moemeka 1987), Colombia (White 1977), Tanzania (Hall and Dodds 1977) and Senegal (Cassier 1977) to name but a few. Some of them, such as those in Tanzania, have been supported by the print media in the form of booklets, pamphlets, posters and even magazines.

Rural media fora using rural newspapers seem to be a novel idea. There is hardly any literature reporting their use. One reason for this could be that in terms of diffusion, radio has been far more effective in the countryside of the Third World than rural newspapers, or any other newspapers for that matter;

so DAs and mass communicators seem to have preferred the more popular mass medium for the fora. Moreover, the predominantly illiterate population of the villages (it is over 50% in most African countries) seems to have re-enforced the choice of radio rather than the rural newspaper as a means of participatory communication for development. The few newspaper effect studies that have been conducted (for example Anokwa and Salwen 1987; Kasoma and Leslie 1988; Kasoma and Machila 1989), strongly suggest that in comparison to radio very few people in rural areas obtain information through newspapers (in the Kasoma and Machila study only 15 per cent of the villagers said they first heard about AIDS from [urban-based] newspapers). However, comparison of effectiveness of one medium against another has one major weakness: this is the erroneous presupposition that the media being compared all operate and are received in the same manner by the people. The contents of Marshall McLuhan's book, *The Medium is the Message* (1967) are still very valid today. Every mass medium has its own peculiar way of presenting the message and, hence, influencing its audience. It also depends on what type of effectiveness one is referring to.

There are four levels of effectiveness of the media. The first one is that of reaching the people. A medium like radio that is widely diffused is certainly effective at that level because it can reach many people; but one has also to consider, and this is the second point, whether the message which the medium is communicating is actually understood by the people. Some people use radio, for example, for several reasons other than that of being a source of information (Mendelsohn 1964). Similarly, people may use a newspaper for purposes other than reading it (Kasoma and Leslie 1988; Kasoma 1986). The fact that a particular mass medium is available to the people does not, therefore, make it effective at this second level.

Understanding the message only is not enough either. There is need for the information so acquired to influence or even change people's attitudes. This change of attitude by the media, however, is not automatic. There are a number of factors to be considered which researchers like Hovland (1953; 1957; 1965) and Insko (1967) have analysed.

Finally, the question of the ability of the medium to move people to act on the information it supplies needs to be considered. Effectiveness at the level of attitude should be distinguished from effectiveness at the level of action. People may be convinced about the necessity of behaving in a certain way but may not necessarily act in compliance with their convictions. Gone are the days of the "bullet theory" of mass communication when it was thought the mass media "shot down" the people with their all-powerful influence (Lasswell 1927). Today the power of the mass media to influence attitudes and behaviour is far less exaggerated. Researchers have agreed at least on one thing: that the mass media have some effect over their audience under certain conditions (see an analysis of the various theories in Severin and Tandard 1982).

Participatory rural newspapers, particularly when accompanied by fora, can be effective in their own right in enhancing the development of ruralists. They may not be very effective initially at the level of reaching the people, but, after some time, their circulation begins to pick up as more and more villagers become literate and acquire newspaper reading habits. The fora themselves act as catalysts to encourage villagers to learn how to read so that they are able to participate more fully not only in the discussions but also in their contribu-

tions to the participatory rural newspaper (Kasoma 1989b). This would come about because forum participants would be encouraged to read the stories they are discussing for themselves in the newspaper as well as contribute artic'es to the publication.

Furthermore, the fora help individual understanding as well as the spreading of the information the newspaper contains to more people in the community than those reached by the publication. Many people who may not directly access the newspaper would hear about the discussion from friends and relatives.

Finally, the fora are also well-placed to influence attitudinal and behavioural adjustments of the villagers individually and as a group since the influence of the medium would be combined with personal influence during the discussions.

Conclusion

This paper has presented a model for participatory rural newspaper fora. A suggestion has been made that such fora can improve communication for development in rural areas between villagers, DAs and PRNRs over and beyond that provided by the newspaper alone.

The paper supports the current trend that the future of using the mass media for development in the Third World lies in the use of small, locally-based media and not in the use of the big media. Development or donor organisations interested in encouraging the use of mass media for development in the rural Third World are therefore advised to shift their emphasis from assisting the big media to supporting the setting up and maintenance of small media like participatory rural newspapers. One way in which this assistance can be rendered is in training local grassroots journalists to operate these mini mass media. The other way is by providing the initial capital and basic machinery to let the trained villager start the small media projects. However, at some point the external funding should cease and the media projects handed over to people's cooperatives (Kasoma 1990a).

It is the submission of this writer that communication for development is not dying or dead. What seems to be saturated is the generalist, macro approach on the role of mass communication in development. The micro approach concerning how various small-scale media available to villagers can be used to enhance development is still very much virgin territory waiting to be explored. Scholars and media practioners need now to do more work in this area. This paper is another modest attempt in this direction.

Postscript

A project is currently being undertaken in Zambia in Chongwe, a small settlement 40 km. east of Lusaka, where a participatory rural newspaper is being established. Villagers in far-flung areas around this settlement will employ participatory rural newspaper fora as described in this paper as part of their communication for development strategy. ❑

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Communication Processes and Strategies: the Case of the School Broadcasting Division in Kenya

by

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Introduction

Educationalists, faced with emerging complex communication technologies, have carried out studies, both case and laboratory, to investigate the effectiveness and value of modern technologies (e.g. Gagna 1965.) Schramm 1977) has summarised studies which compared communication technologies like television, radio, film, computers, and tape recorders with a very well known and familiar communicator - the classroom teacher. Many of those studies found no significant differences in learning gains between the classroom and television teacher. However, some studies did register significant gains in learning, but Bates (1979, 1981, 1987) is critical of communication research that compares one medium with another. His argument is that the effectiveness of any given medium is determined by many factors such as the learning conditions, the quality of the programme, the technical equipment, the skills of the producer, and the quality of teacher support.

Cognizant of these facts, communicators have turned to operational issues like media selection, the role of media, the characteristics of audiences and learners, the cost effectiveness of communication technology, the description of processes and strategies, learning and media, and sociological and psychological effects of media. (Bates 1981, 1987; Barett 1977).

This paper highlights an innovative communication process through which

the Schools Broadcasting Division (SBD) of Kenya was transformed from a mainly centralized one-way system to a participatory communication system. The major objective of this transformational process was to make SBD programmes acceptable to teachers and relevant to pupils.

Brief Historical Background of Schools Broadcasting In Kenya

Hancock (1977) and Bates (1987) are in agreement that radio came to many countries in Africa and Asia as a service to the expatriate colonial communities. As an example, in Kenya the radio programmes which were transmitted were imported from Britain in their entirety. The local communities were expected to listen to such programmes; when the Schools Broadcasts were introduced, African students were expected to listen to BBC school radio programmes. The view of the colonial policy makers at that time was that people, especially Africans, would listen to whatever was transmitted. Consequently, the issue of what was appropriate for the African children was neither raised nor discussed. This situation continued after independence in 1963.

However, during the 1974-1977 period, various concepts in educational technology (Bates et. al. 1982), instructional media and technology (Schramm, 1977), started to influence media managers, producers and educators. One of those influenced was Roy Thompson, then Head of Schools Broadcasting Division in the Ministry of Education. He initiated and sustained the evolutionary process first by recruiting eleven members of staff: six producers, two researchers and three field utilization officers. His objective was to train producers who would eventually take over production and management functions of the SBD from the expatriate staff.

Thompson is also credited with initiating the production of Kenyan radio programmes. Before he joined the division, the only form of production work that existed was cosmetic. The British Council used to supply the division with the BBC schools radio programmes. The task of the producers was to select relevant BBC programmes and make them Kenyan by replacing front and back announcements. Thompson stopped this practice and made the producers initiate Kenyan-oriented radio programmes. He led them in this endeavour by producing several series of programmes aimed at improving the skills and the knowledge of primary schools teachers of mathematics.

As research was to reveal later, the Kenyan produced programmes were not very different from the BBC programmes. This was because the Kenyan produced programmes were planned, scripted, presented and produced by expatriate teachers and actors who were familiar with the BBC model of production.

Producers

The producers who joined the Schools Broadcasting Division (SBD) in the early 1970s were formerly secondary schools' drama teachers. They were trained for three months at the Kenya Institute of Mass Communications (KIMC), Nairobi. The training programme was expected to instill professional standards in programme production. The training which was designed by a former BBC producer, the late Miles Lee, emphasized factors such as production formats, sound effects, use of language, stimulation of interest, programme appeal and simplicity of language.

It also stressed the need for professionalism in programme production.

This professionalism entailed the use of the best writers, actors, presenters and the best technical equipment and support. The training programme did not emphasize important communication aspects such as the need for understanding the prevailing learning environment, learning opportunities, learner characteristics and teacher characteristics. This emphasis was to be expected since the trainer was a product of BBC General Broadcasting Radio, not an educator.

Research and Evaluation Section

The work of the research section transformed the Schools Broadcasting Division. The researchers asked the producers thought-provoking questions based on their findings in the schools One researcher had investigated the extent to which pupils could identify some of the sound effects which producers had used in their programmes. He found that pupils could not identify most of the sounds which the producers had assumed were familiar and common to rural and urban children. These findings brought conflict within the section; the resolution of that conflict made Schools Broadcasting Division a dynamic system (Barett, 1977).

The producers refused to accept these findings, accusing the researcher of bias, lack of creativity and ignorance of the production process. (Minutes of Staff Meetings, 1975 - 1976).

One can understand why the producers were so upset - because media producers all over the world are highly committed to their productions. Bates' view was that "their training does imply that research is not necessary, their expertise is sufficient" (Bates 1987).

The view is extreme on the one hand because the educational producers were formerly teachers and were expected to understand the learning-teaching environments. However, on the other hand, they were producers committed to designing appealing and effective messages.

The SBD producers, refusing to accept the researcher's view, set out to visit schools. They were shocked by what they saw and what they were told. They realized that there were great disparities between their perceptions of the learning situations and conditions as they directed productions in the studio, on the one hand, and the interactions between pupils, teachers and the radio programme as they listened in the classroom, on the other. The disparities brought out quite clearly the producers' ignorance of:

- the pupils' needs and aspirations
- the teacher's role in the classroom
- geographical situations, and
- constraints of using radio to learn.

The producers were humbled and this marked the beginning of a continuous process of interaction between producers, teachers and pupils.

The producers visited schools to monitor what was going on in the classroom. They were soon joined by technical operators who were shocked to discover that they had mixed programmes when copying. Besides observing the classroom teachers, the producers also taught target classes. The objective of this exercise was to bring them back to their roots - the classroom. Gradually, activities such as observing classroom teaching, discussions with teachers and pupils became a regular feature of the Schools Broadcasting Division.

Innovations

The first innovation was in programme production. Having seen

the pupils' and the teachers' reactions to their programmes, the producers made several changes in the production process. First, they stopped using foreign sound effects. Instead, the producers and the technical operators went out into the environment to record familiar sound effects.

Secondly, they reduced the number of sound effects in a programme. Pupils and teachers had said that they were confused by too many sound effects.

Thirdly, they changed presentation. Both the teachers and the pupils had complained about several series of programmes that had originated from the BBC and were being broadcast to six- year-olds. The finding caused conflict between teachers and producers. On the one hand, teachers argued that their pupils could not understand various accents of native speakers of English who were presenters of most programmes. On the other hand, the producers believed that native speakers of English were not only teaching content but also correct pronunciation and diction. After a period of struggle, the teachers' view prevailed and African presenters replaced European presenters.

The producers were now faced with the dilemma of presentation. Where would they find creative speakers of English? Producers could use African presenters, but they must have not only clear voices, but also impeccable diction. The cardinal rule for radio is clarity; pupils and teachers should hear what is said as clearly as possible.

The search for talent was accepted as a challenge needing exploration by each producer. It was also agreed that a committee of producers should be formed to audition the "discovered" talent and to ensure that such talent was acceptable to the division, pupils and teachers.

The audition process was accepted by artists from other media organizations in Kenya including the former Voice of Kenya (VoK) - now Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC). The Schools Broadcasting Division became the "producer" of broadcast talent in Kenya. Some of the talented presenters in Kenya are a product of this process. The auditioning process reduced complaints. Teachers now complain about poor reception but not unclear voices.

The next innovation related to the entire programme. Once producers stopped using native speakers of English, the issue of the quality of the production was raised. It was decided that the Division should establish another committee to listen to the programmes before they were broadcast. The purpose of the listening committee was to ensure that poorly produced and controversial programmes were not transmitted. Although the committee was at first unpopular, the producers came to perceive its role positively. They appreciated the comments made by their colleagues on their work. They realized that the committee had a creative role in terms of monitoring their programmes and suggesting amendments. Through the work of this committee, producers were able to perceive the potentialities of the medium. They also developed a taxonomy of radio for education. This taxonomy includes:

- statement of objectives
- repeated broadcasts
- different presentations
- concrete ideas
- familiar examples
- reinforcing activities
- learner and teacher participation
- summaries of points
- interest
- didactic programmes
- slow pacing
- understanding learners

- distinctions of voices
- clear voices

Using this taxonomy, the producers were able to assess their presentation techniques and to improve on them - quite an achievement considering the fact that producers believe that they know what the audience wants, or needs, especially school children.

The recommendations of the listening committee were not immediately implemented. The producer had to pretest his or her programme with the target audience, which had to be rural and urban. It was only then that he or she could revise the programme. What was remarkable about this innovation was that producers were willing to give their "baby" productions either to other producers or to the staff of the Research and Evaluation Section, for pre-testing.

This regular consultation with other producers and target audiences (pupils and teachers) led to the development of a standard presentation format which has almost become the norm in schools broadcasting. The format is called Narration and Radio Teacher. In these format, two or three actors present the programme, but there must be male and female presenters. The idea is to balance the sexes and reflect the reality found in most schools.

Language

The discussions during the listening sessions brought out the problem of language to producers, presenters, pupils and teachers. Although Kiswahili is the national language, English is the official language in Kenya. Consequently, English is not only taught in schools as a language but also used for instruction and learning. This role of the English language is complicated by the fact that Kenya has over fifty tribal tongues. To compound the problem even further, in many rural primary schools the tribal tongue is the language of instruction in lower primary (standard 1-3) and, to a large extent, in upper primary (standard 4-8).

Schools radio programmes are broadcast mainly in English; Kiswahili is used only when it is taught as a subject. Table 1 shows the number of subjects taught in English.

The problem of language is complex, however skilful a producer might be. While recognizing the language problem, producers have tried to use simple language as much as possible. They, however, face an internal problem because all of them are trained to teach in secondary schools and their concept of "simple" does not always agree with that of their listeners and teachers.

Attention Span

Associated with the problem of language was the problem of attention span. This was a major concern which the producers discussed during the listening sessions. It was agreed that, to maintain attention and interest, producers could use the following methods:

- relevant and stimulating music and sound effects
- drama as a presentation strategy
- interesting and stimulating language
- physical movements like standing and sitting down
- participatory techniques like answering, finding out
- looking attentively at a map, writing, singing movement

Table 1

Subjects Taught in English

Standard	Subject taught in English
Standard 2	English
Standard 3	Music and Movement
Standard 4	Mathematics
Standard 5	Home Sciences; Agriculture; Mathematics; Geography; History and Civics (GHC)
Standard 6	Business Education; Home Science; Agriculture; Geography; History and Civics (GHC)
Standard 7	Science, Business Education, Agriculture, Home Science, GHC
Standard 8	Science, Art and Craft, Music, Business Education, Home Science, GHC, Agriculture.

Source: 1990 KIE Radio Time-table

- cueing words like "look"
- repetition of important points, and
- involvement of teachers

Classroom Teachers

The experiences of schools broadcasting producers show that teachers are a crucial factor in any study concerned with the effectiveness of schools' broadcasts. It is the teachers who make critical utilization decisions such as whether the radio set will be turned on, where the radio set will be placed, how well it is tuned, volume control, and whether pre-and post broadcasting activities will be carried out.

Each of these factors makes a difference to learners in terms of degree to which they will learn from the radio. The relationship between the producer and the teacher is very delicate and visits to some schools were painful experiences. The author was in a class in one of the coldest areas in Kenya observing a radio lesson which was held in a very windy classroom. Most of the pupils were shivering and were obviously not listening; however their plight was ignored by the teacher.

One headmaster of an urban school copied all the radio lessons on audio-cassettes. He informed the teachers about the audio-cassettes, but only a few of them came to collect them. Even those teachers stopped using the cassettes after some time. The producers were not able to establish the reasons

why some teachers ignored the radio lessons, but when the producers asked the teachers if they used the broadcasts most of them said, "Yes", and could describe the role of the radio lessons in the classroom, despite the fact that the producers were aware that those teachers did not use the broadcast. In such situations, the producers exercised their diplomatic and public relations skills. They empathised with the problems of the teachers, listened to them and offered advice where necessary. This approach paid dividends, for a preliminary survey by the Research Division of the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) in September, 1990, indicated that over 40% and, in some subjects, over 60% of teachers were using the schools' broadcasts.

Support Notes

One of the reasons why some teachers do not use schools' broadcasts is because they lack "Broadcast Notes for Classroom Teachers". The Schools Broadcasting Division has faced this problem since the 1970s. The problem continues to grow as more series of programmes are broadcast without supporting notes. Consequently, some teachers have decided not use the broadcasts. However, the highly motivated teachers listen to the programmes with their pupils, take notes as the broadcast progresses and go over the points of the broadcast with the pupils. But adequate comprehension of broadcasts is only possible if schools are supplied with "Broadcast Notes for Teachers". Such notes would enable teachers to organize themselves and the pupils to receive the radio lessons.

The escalating costs of publishing teachers support notes has led to the decrease of such notes in the class, something which may threaten the effectiveness of broadcasts to schools.

Scheduling of Broadcasts

The 1990 Broadcast to Schools' Time-table indicates that most of the programmes are directed to primary school pupils and in-service teachers. The shift of emphasis from secondary to primary was as a result of several visits to secondary schools by the producers.

> *It became evident that it was neither practicable nor possible to schedule broadcasts to fit into the secondary schools' timetables.*

This was because the time allocated to schools radio was not enough for programming primary, secondary, teachers, and general public programmes.

It was decided that secondary schools should be encouraged to use recorded broadcast materials. This decision led to the development of the first catalogue of all the Schools' broadcast materials. This catalogue was given to schools which wrote asking for programmes. The catalogue was an essential innovation for it enabled schools and colleges to make better use of the recorded materials.

This development did not entirely stop transmission to secondary schools. It was decided that newly-produced programmes must be put on the air, so that secondary school teachers are made aware of them. In addition to this some schools were still using programmes off air. These were the schools that had managed to schedule schools broadcast programmes into their timetables - meaning that the broadcasts were dictating the timetable.

Programmes

Primary Schools

The problem of scheduling and

synchronization of broadcasts in relation to primary school timetables was solved by the Director of Education in charge of primary schools in the early 1980s. The Ministry of Education produced a common timetable for all primary schools. A problem of scheduling would only arise if a school did not follow the Ministry of Education timetable.

The problem of utilization of schools broadcasts is still great, however, because the producer is not in control of the utilization environment, which is under the classroom teacher. Thus, the effectiveness of schools' broadcasts is, to a large extent, determined by the teachers' perception of the role of broadcasts in their classroom. If the teachers perceive them as either interfering or challenging their role and understanding of the content, they will undermine the broadcasts. Such teachers prepare pupils poorly to receive the broadcasts, talk when the radio teacher is talking, and leave children alone during the broadcasts (Bates 1987).

In one class observed by the author, a teacher presented incorrect content during the post-broadcast activities. Although her pupils had heard the correct facts they were forced to copy wrong notes. The producer sent the teacher the correct information hoping that she would use it to correct her facts.

In Service Programmes

The demand for trained teachers led to the introduction of a teacher's in-service programme for untrained primary school teachers and adult education teachers. The programmes are a cooperative effort between the Ministry of Education, Culture and Social Services, the University of Nairobi and the Kenya Institute of Education. A multimedia approach to development is used. Teachers are mainly taught by correspondence texts and radio lessons. There is also another set of 600 teachers who are studying for their Bachelor of Education degree using distance education i.e. correspondence text, supplementary audio-cassettes and occasional face-to-face lessons.

Though the impact of these distance education programmes on classroom teaching has not been assessed, producers believe that there must be some positive change in the attitudes of teachers about the teaching and learning by media. This programme has so far trained about 10,000 primary school teachers since its inception in 1982. In 1990 there were 6,500 primary school teachers and 3,000 adult education teachers learning at a distance and using media materials for learning

Educational Media Service (EMS)

The second catalyst that stimulated further evolution of SBD was the transfer of SBD from the Inspectorate Section to the Curriculum Division of the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE). This transfer was marked by a change of name, function and role. The name of the Schools Broadcasting Division was changed to The Educational Media Services (EMS). This change meant that EMS was no longer an autonomous division within the Ministry of Education, but a member of a closely knit institution involved in non-degree curriculum development. Thus began another process of accommodation marked by conflict and co-operation as the semi-autonomous SBD become the EMS – a division of KIE.

The curriculum developers of KIE were critical of the role and functions of EMS producers. Curriculum specialists questioned the methods that producers of SBD were using to identify programme series and to determine the amount of content that can be put in one

broadcast. A rivalry of sorts between producers and curriculum specialists started and, although the producers did not change their methods of production, they accepted the KIE model of using subject panels to identify the radio curricula which producers call "series". A subject panel is a group of subject specialists drawn from all levels of education, namely, primary, secondary, colleges, universities, inspectorate, and administration. It is chaired by the subject inspector.

As more and more trust developed between the producer and his/her panel, the members (who were subject specialists) were able to conceptualize the role of radio lessons in their subjects. Gradually, these members were able to prepare acceptable - and sometimes brilliant - scripts in their subject areas.

Currently, a producer at the KIE works with a subject panel to identify the areas of the national curriculum that may need radio support. Once identified, these series constitute a radio curriculum.

The panel then identifies programme objectives; programme content; teachers' activities before, during and after the broadcast; pupils activities before, during and after the broadcast; guidelines for teachers' notes, and resources required by the teacher in the classroom.

The panel repeats these guideline activities for each radio lesson. The series constitute the radio curriculum for a specific level, for example, standard 2 English. The radio lesson constitutes a single broadcast. The proposal for the series is then taken to teachers to evaluate. Once accepted by classroom teachers, the subject panel translates the radio curriculum into a series of programmes.

The significance of this process of materials development is that decisions on education are made by classroom teachers. The needs of pupils are represented by teachers in the subject panel. Teachers are also recipients of broadcasts. Although this process has not been evaluated, it may explain the reasons why over 30% of teachers are using the broadcasts without supporting notes.

EMS - Complex

The Educational Media Service of Kenya (EMS) is a multi-media complex which consists of radio and television production studios, a design studio, audio and video cassette copying systems, a film production studio, a multimedia library, a materials store, printing machines and personnel offices. The building of the EMS complex was seen as an acknowledgement of the role of media in education. The complex provides the needed technical support to producers. The audio cassette and video copying services make it possible for schools to use recorded broadcasts. As Bates (1982, 1987) and Schramm (1977) have pointed out, quality productions and programme effectiveness are determined by the quality of technical support, both hardware and personnel. EMS grew in complexity as a result of continued discussions between the producers and the teachers who also represented the pupils; thus, the hardware and the software were introduced to support an evolving instructional system that had started modestly (Ngechu, 1983).

The EMS did not suffer from western-oriented experimentation described by Schramm (1977) and Bates (1987). The only experiment that EMS has been involved in was the research into direct teaching for Standards 1 to 3, called the "Radio Language Arts Project," sponsored by USAID. The project was not implemented. Its implementation would have necessitated the building of

a complex infrastructure, heavy commitment of funds and introduction of an educational innovation to which parents, teachers and educators were opposed.

Conclusion

This paper has highlighted changes that occurred in the Schools Broadcasting Division of the Kenyan Ministry of Education from 1975-1987. These changes were significant innovations which brought about effective communication processes and strategies to instructional radio in Kenya. These innovations widened the horizons of, among others, producers, teachers, pupils, subject panels, schools inspectors and curriculum developers. They also brought about a re-definition of roles and changed perceptions of all the participants. Best of all, the innovations brought about acceptance of radio as a significant medium of instruction. This acceptance led to the growth of SBD.

Because of these facilities, producers at SBD-EMS were able to develop Kenyan-oriented communication strategies and processes for development which were accepted because they were developed by teachers, producers, researchers and learners. They include, among others:

- collections of local sound effects
- auditioning procedures for talent
- training of presenters
- establishment of a bank of talented artists
- internal monitoring of programmes (listening committee)
- development of Kenyan radio format
- institutionalization of regular teacher-producer-pupil interactions
- regularization of pre-testing
- programming
- use of subject panels, and
- EMS multi-media complex

These are universal communication strategies and processes, but they have evolved and have become part and parcel of Kenya's instructional radio. ❑

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Television Advertising for National Development

by

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Introduction

The campaigns reported in this paper have been planned and implemented by the author, who has also written the scripts and served as film director. The author's multiple responsibilities are significant because of the temptation to paint a positive picture under the circumstances. Therefore, the paper uses only data collected and reported by other independent researchers. The author's role is limited to a secondary analysis of such data to supplement the description of these campaigns.

Case 1: Oral Rehydration

Description

Until 1983, Egypt annually lost about 150,000 children due to dehydration. This accounted for half the deaths of children under five.[1] Such deaths can be averted by treatment with a simple mixture of salt, sugar, and water. This mixture is called Oral Rehydration Solution (ORS). The National Control of Diarrheal Diseases Project (NCDDP) began in 1983 as a social marketing project with the objective of producing, distributing, and promoting ORS in order to reduce infant mortality caused by dehydration by 25 percent over a five year period. However, when the project began, it faced the following challenges:

i) the facilities necessary to produce the needed amounts of ORS were not available;

ii) the majority of physicians did not believe in treatment with ORS, but depended upon intravenous solution instead;

iii) most mothers did not know what dehydration was, and used incor-

rect methods to treat diarrhea, and

iv) only a few health centres provided treatment for diarrhea and dehydration.

Until 1983, the Arabic word *(Gafaf)* referred to drought. Since then the television advertising campaign has made it mean bodily dehydration. The concept of dehydration became so well known, from television advertising "...that school children, when asked in their final exams in 1986, to write an essay on the drought, wrote instead, on child dehydration"[2].

Since the beginning of the programme in 1983, the project media strategy expected that television advertising "...will prove to be the most effective activity in reaching the target audience",[3] which consisted primarily of mothers of children below five years of age. This expectation was based on the fact that television sets existed in over 70 per cent of Egyptian households, and TV was watched regularly by the rural and poor segments of the target audience, most of whom are illiterate, and cannot be reached through the print media.

Between 1983 and 1990, over 50 television spots were designed, produced, and aired. These spots covered various issues such as defining dehydration, its signs and seriousness, how to prevent and treat it with ORS, how to mix and administer ORS, feeding during and after a diarrhea episode, prevention of diarrhea, rational use of other drugs and correct weaning practices. Each one of the TV spots was developed on the basis of research conducted before and after each annual media campaign, and was subject to pre-testing among samples of the target audience.

Television messages have several advantages over other traditional means of health education. They are attractive; they reach most of the target population in seconds, and they are carefully worded so that the precise use of words and expressions conveys a particular technical content. Television messages are also pre-tested to avoid any misunderstanding or unintended sub-messages, and they can be placed in programmes aired during prime time viewing. Since each television spot normally has one specific message, a particular spot can be aired more or less often than others, depending on the needs of the target audience. It can also be aired at particular times when specific segments of the population are known to be watching television.

For example, we found out that different segments of the audience watched TV movies and series differently as follows:[4]

Table 1:
Educational Level & Viewing Habits

Educational Level	Percent Watching Movies & Series
Illiterate	66
Read and Write	55
High school	42
College	37

The distribution of diarrhea morbidity had the same pattern, where the less educated had more diarrhea episodes. It made sense, therefore, to place the TV spots before television movies and series to reach the population segments most influenced by the problem. Contrary to the "Knowledge Gap hypothesis"[5] the less educated segments of the Egyptian population adopted this innovation (ORS) even faster than the better educated groups, as illustrated by these figures for ORS after the 1983 and 1984 campaigns.[6]

Table 2:
Educational Levels & ORS Use

Educational Level	Percent Ever Used ORS
Illiterate	57.6
Read & Write	64.6
High School	46.7
College	52.6

In addition to the media planning factors mentioned above, and the low and affordable price of ORS, this pattern of media effects was achieved because the language used in the TV spots was very simple and included actual words and expressions used by mothers. The messages were also short and focused, which made comprehension easy, regardless of the educational level. The message formats were appealing to all levels of the target audience, especially the lower-status segments.

Results

In June and July 1986, a team of eight Egyptians and eleven international experts from the Ministry of Health, USAID, UNICEF, and the World Health Organization conducted a project review and concluded that

> *...consistent with findings of a number of studies reported by the project, the review found impressive knowledge and use of ORT among mothers. Of 161 mothers interviewed during the review, 96% knew what a packet of ORS was used for, 82% said they used it and 71% knew some signs of dehydration. Of the users, 97% could correctly mix ORS.*[7]

The review also concluded that "the greatly increased access to and knowledge of ORS has afforded mothers opportunities to prevent death due to dehydration in their children".[8]

This important accomplishment had been achieved at a modest cost of a little more than one Egyptian pound for each mother gaining this benefit. It is also noteworthy that these impressive achievements had been largely made in the short time span of three-and-a-half years.

The above findings can be attributed in large part to a well-planned and carefully implemented mass media campaign mainly channelled through television[9]. The report also referred to another important result of the television campaign:

> *...the project's wise focus on the primary target audience, mothers, has resulted in creating a demand-driven system which had important positive implications for the sustainability of the project's achievements.*[10]

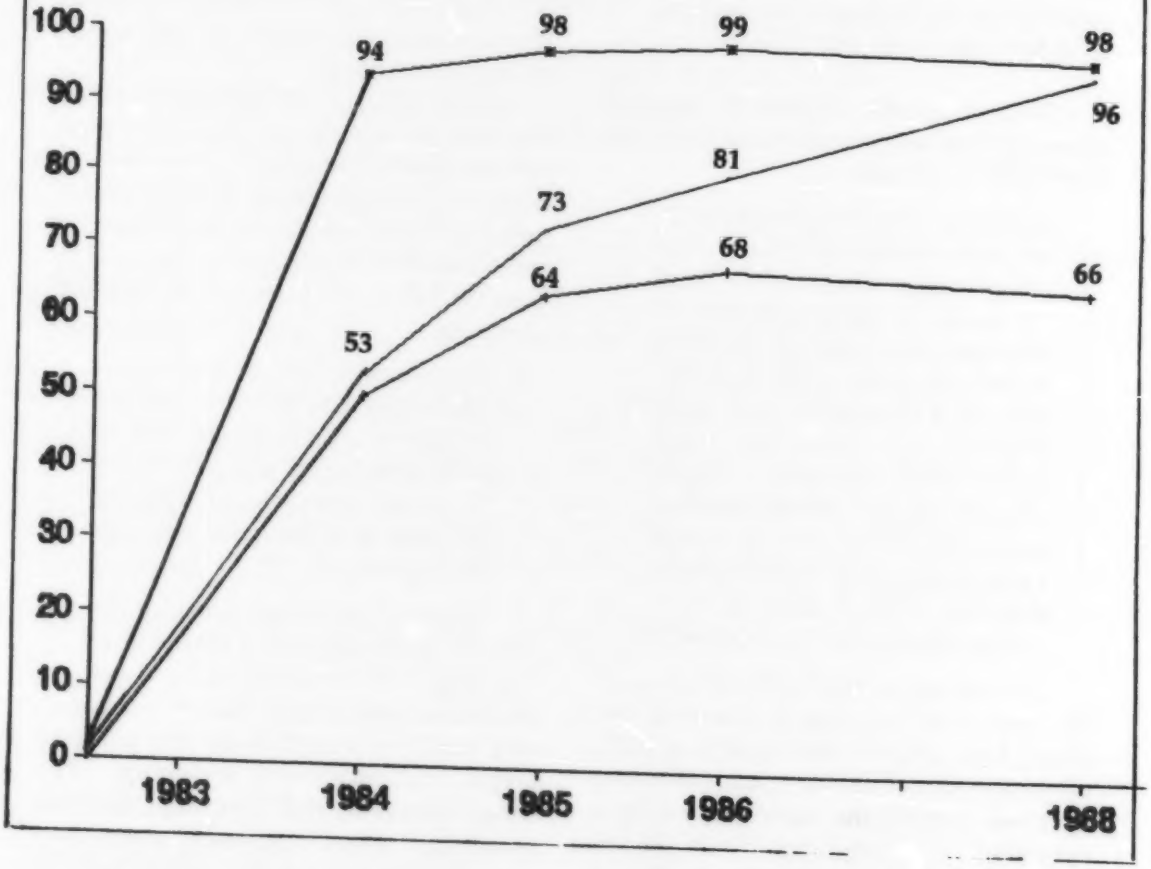
In fact, even before this review, and only two years after the project began, the **British Medical Journal** had concluded that "the lives of more than 100,000 children have been saved in Egypt in what may be the world's most successful health education programme."[11]

The **Journal** reported that:

> *the project decided, in the face of opposition from doctors and others, to use the mass media to tell Egyptian people about oral rehydration treatment. Radio, television, and posters were used, and within 2 years 95% of Egyptian mothers knew about the treatment, 80% had used it to treat their child's last episode of diarrhea, and between 109,000 and 190,000 child deaths had been prevented. The campaign used actors, singers, comedian*

Figure 1

Mothers Knowledge and Use of ORS
(1983 - 1988)



doctors, drama, prizes, competitions, interviews with mothers, and for the first time messages were delivered in colloquial Egyptian rather than classical Arabic[12]

The Journal concluded that

the World Health Organization has been so impressed with the results of the Egyptian campaign that it is encouraging other countries to adopt similar programmes.[13]

Figure 1 illustrates the impact of the campaign on knowledge of ORS, knowledge of Mixing ORS and use of ORS between 1983 and 1988[14]

Regarding the impact of this increased knowledge and use of ORS, the LANCET reported:

packets of Oral Rehydration salts are now widely accessible; oral rehydration therapy is used correctly in most episodes of diarrhea; most mothers continue to feed infants and children during the child's illness, and most physicians prescribe oral rehydration therapy. These changes in the management of acute diarrhea are associated with a sharp decrease in mortality from diarrhea, while death from other causes remains nearly constant.[15]

According to the LANCET, the infant mortality rate due to diarrhea declined from 29.1 in 1983 to 12.3 in 1987, while non-diarrhea infant mortality rate declined during the same period by a very small fraction, from 35.6 in 1983 to 32.8 in 1987.[16] Furthermore, childhood mortality (for children aged 1-4 years) declined from 4.0 in 1983 to 2.3 in 1987 for diarrheal deaths, and from 6.0 in 1983 to 5.5 in 1987 for non-diarrheal deaths.[17]

These remarkable declines in infant and child mortality were the direct results of increased knowledge and use of ORS, breastfeeding and giving liquids during diarrhea, which were the primary message of the TV campaign.

Case 2: Family Planning

Description

Since 1979, the Egyptian State Information Service (SIS) has been charged with the responsibility of national promotion of family planning. For 12 years (1979-1987), the SIS tried three different approaches to television advertising: the first through a popular song, the second through animation, and the third used a strong fear appeal.

In addition to television advertising, the SIS has continued to use posters, booklets, billboards, sponsored radio and TV programmes as well as interpersonal communication in the form of public rallies organized by the local offices of SIS. For most of this period, however,

there were two conspicuous difficulties with message strategy for family planning: the lack of focused messages and a tendency to undervalue social science findings as a basis for message development.[18]

The first approach used by the SIS did not quite succeed, because the television spot did not have clear message, was more entertaining than educational, and was not aired when the primary target audience were watching. The other media in the campaign did not reach the target audience, since they were mostly print media, while most of the target audience for family planning are primarily illiterate Egyptian men and women. An evaluation study illustrated the relatively small impact of this campaign on the primary target audi-

Table 3:

Differences in Knowledge among Economic and Educational Levels After a Two-Year Campaign on Family Planning by SIS[18]

Levels	PERCENT WHO KNEW			
	Campaign	Slogan Logo Look	Slogan Small Family	Slogan Choice
Education	46.5	39.5	43.3	21.6
University	89.6	89.6	97.2	67.6
Secondary	87.8	85.9	90.7	58.9
Prep	87.2	79.2	87.2	47.2
Elementary	72.8	61.7	68.9	34.0
Read & Write	53.0	42.4	48.6	22.3
Illiterate	27.1	21.4	22.7	8.7
Economic	46.5	39.5	43.3	21.6
High	74.5	65.8	71.2	39.4
Medium	55.8	49.0	52.4	27.8
Below Average	40.2	21.7	35.5	17.0
Low	25.1	21.8	25.6	8.7

ence (see Table 3).

Unfortunately, we do not have data on the second campaign which the SIS launched using animation. However, the SIS and its donors were unhappy about the results of this campaign which did not capture the attention of the target audience. This was attributed to the possibility that the target women did not identify with animated characters; thus, a state of self-involvement was never attained. Finally, the fear appeal approach tried by the SIS in 1986/1987 resulted in a counter-media campaign, where most of the urban population, though a secondary audience, insisted on taking the spots off the air. Once broadcast, "the spots created substantial controversy among urban influentials, who felt that this type of message was inappropriate for the target audience."[20]

In 1987/1988, the CDC designed and produced a comprehensive television advertising campaign for the SIS, where a well known TV star played in a series of 15 spots under the name **Zannana**, which means "the nag" in Arabic. This "nagging" mother-in-law has provided a mechanism for countering rumours and misinformation which had long affected the family planning situation in Egypt. She, for example, tries to advise her daughter and son-in-law to have another child right away "for her to play with" or for the daughter to "tie her husband down". She tries to advise a bride in the neighborhood, on her wedding night, to have plenty of children one after the other and advises her older daughter not to use contraceptives as long as she is breastfeeding because she is "safe". She also tries to arrange a marriage for her 16-year- old niece, and volunteers wrong information about contraceptives, saying, for example, that the oral pill is not to be taken daily, but only when the woman has sex. All of these situations are carefully studied so that these rumours and misinformation are corrected and responded to in quite convincing ways.

Table 4 presents data collected in a national study of 1800 households intended to evaluate the **Zannana** campaign[21]

Table 4:

Impact of Zannana Campaign

Indicator TOTAL	%
Watched Campaign	100.0
Knows the Content of at least one spot	98.0
Can repeat lines from the spots	74.0
Did not believe the nag	97.0

Results

In a sense, respondents were "tested" when 14 different incomplete phrases from the campaign were read to them. Of all 14 phrases, half were completed by over 73% of respondents, two were completed by over 64%, one completed by 53%, three completed by over 20%, and the last one was completed by 17%. It is also interesting to note that, contrary to the results of the early SIS campaign in 1980, this campaign resulted in larger knowledge gains among the less educated, which is precisely what the family planning programme needs, since the problem is more serious among that population group. Table 5 shows this statistically significant difference in knowledge among different educational levels. [22]

Another evaluation study was con-

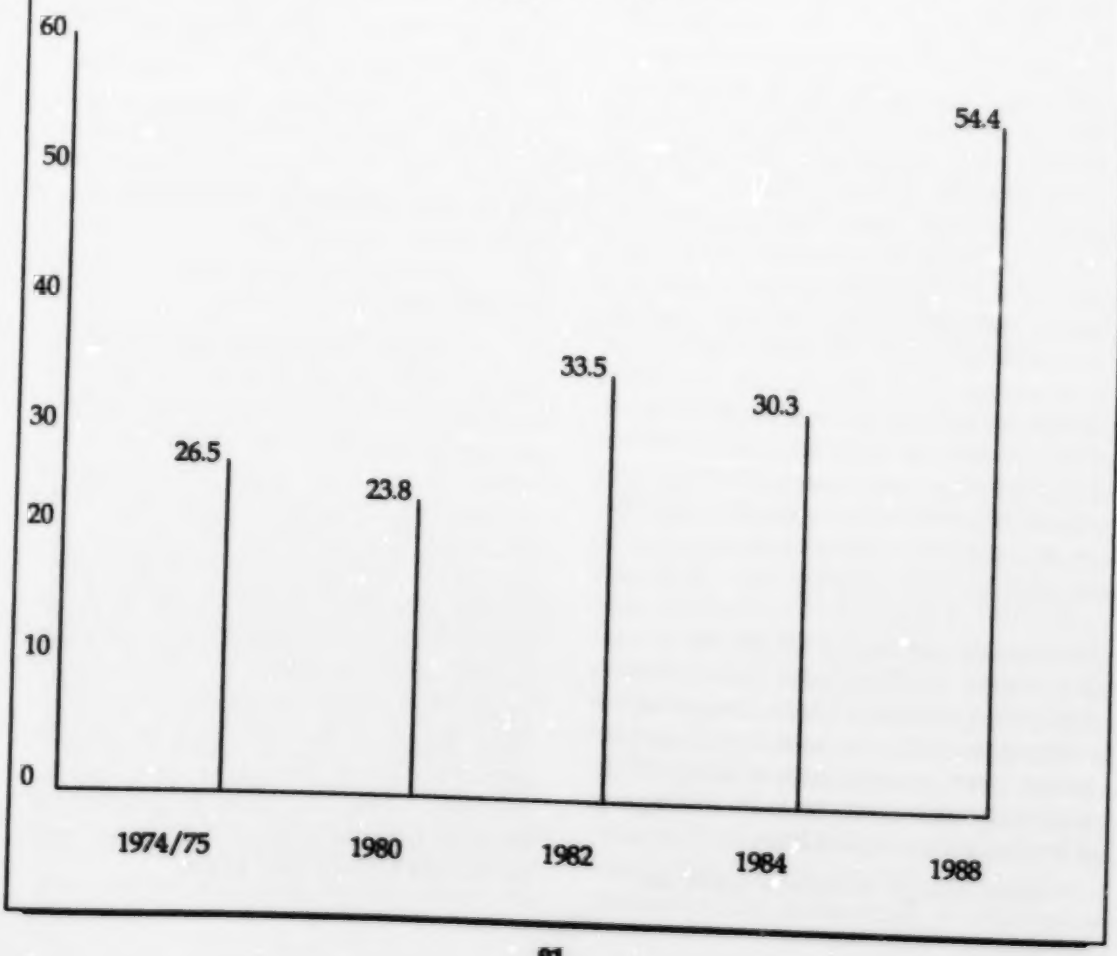
Table 5:

Ability to Repeat Lines from Campaign by Educational Level

Knowledge Indicator	Total %	Educational Level Illiterate	Read only	High School	College	College
Knowledge of at Least One Line	74.0	7.0	79.0	76.0	70.0	71.0

Figure 2

Estimates of the Contraceptive Prevalence Rate Among Married Women from Various Fertility Surveys Egypt 1974 - 1978



ducted in 1988 which measured the level of family planning knowledge, attitudes, and practices. The study showed a substantial increase of 79.9 percent in contraceptive use since the last documented figure of 1984, as shown in Figure 2.[23]

Also, press reactions to the CDC spots have been highly favourable and increasingly vocal. The Cairo newspaper *Al-Ahram* ran a cartoon on May 6, 1988 with a direct reference to the new stereotyped role of Sana Yunis (the actress who played the Zannana). The cartoon depicted the Minister of Food Supplies seated at his desk, hearing the voices of people outside a window demanding: "We need rice." "We need tomato sauce." "We need cooking oil." "We need sugar." The caption below said, "God forgive Sana Yunis .... She has made everyone in the country a nag".[24]

In 1989, the SIS launched a second campaign consisting of 10 new television spots which covered various issues such as early marriages, the concept of child spacing, child labour and negligence, the baby boy complex, availability of different contraceptive methods, the need to consult a doctor, rumours about contraceptives, family welfare, and the concept of planning. This campaign was evaluated in 1990, through a national survey of 2400 cases.[25] The study found that almost all respondents had seen the television spots (99.95%). More importantly, the study found no difference in viewership of these spots among the different educational levels, and viewership was similar in urban and rural areas. According to the study, most viewers were able to repeat the messages of the campaign correctly, and there were no urban-rural or educational level differences among respondents in this regard. The study concluded that

> *even though television spots are not "regular" television programmes, viewers put them on top of the list of TV programmes, which indicates a tremendous preference for this format among viewers.*[26]

This preference, as the study reports, is even across all educational levels, and in urban and rural areas as well.

In 1990, the SIS launched the third national family planning campaign. In this campaign, a famous soap opera star played a female doctor in this series of 11 television spots. The series corrects misinformation and rumours and conveys useful advice on correct use of contraceptives. It also addresses more difficult issues such as starting child spacing after the first child is born, men's involvement in and support of family planning decisions, and fatalism. Campaign evaluation has not been completed at the time of this writing this paper.

Case 3:

Promoting Family Planning Clinics

Description

The Clinical Services Improvement Project (CSI) began in October 1988. The project provides clinically based family planning and other maternity services, which include lab tests, contraceptive counselling, physical check-ups, IUD insertion, sale of other contraceptives, and follow-up, in addition to other non-family planning services such as pregnancy tests, early detection of cervical cancer and treatment of infecundity. Prices charged for the services are higher than those at the Ministry of Health clinics but lower than private physicians' charges. The CSI aims at generating enough income so that it becomes self sufficient within five years.

The project adopted the social marketing strategy from the start. It had a specific "product" - its services - and it used market research to determine clinic locations and pricing policies in order for these services to be reasonably accessible and affordable. Promotion was also planned on the basis of market research conducted to find out what the target audience (primarily women) wanted to see in these clinics. The project implemented several campaigns from 1988 to 1990, all of which had one thing in common: they relied heavily on television advertising. But the campaigns also included the use of flyers, billboards, promotional items and such interpersonal communication techniques as public rallies, home visits and group counselling. However, the main emphasis of the media campaigns was on television advertising.

The performance of the project has been quite impressive. When the clinics were opened in October 1988, they received 84 new family planning clients, 15 revisiting ones, and 335 clients of other services. By July 1990, the clinics had received 46,365 new family planning clients, 43,610 revisiting family planning clients, and another 81,391 clients of other services, making it a total of 171,366 clients in 22 months or an average of 7789 clients per month. This is an increase of 18 fold.

Results

How much of this increase is due to the promotional campaign? How much of it is due to the increased number of centres over this period? And how much of it is due to other factors, such as direct face-to-face communication? It goes without saying that as more centres are opened, some clients are likely to show up in those centres even without a lot of publicity. It is also true that interpersonal and other means of communication will help recruit some clients, even in the absence of television advertising campaigns.

However, there are ways of assessing the contribution of television advertising campaigns. The project keeps good records which have monthly numbers of clients, both new and revisiting, both for family planning and for other services. There are also records of dates new groups of clinics were opened, and exact records of when the television campaigns were launched.

Our analysis will, therefore, depend on comparing the monthly number of clients before and after the television campaign, controlling the number of CSI clinics, so that any increase in numbers is not due to an increase in those clinics.

Between October 1988 and July 1990, four television spots were aired in several intervals as follows:

- November 1988 - January 1989: spots 1 & 2
- May - August 1989: spot 1
- October 1989 - January 1990: spots 1, 2 & 3.
- March 1990 : spot 4.
- May - June 1990: spots 3 & 4

On the other hand, the CSI had six main clinics from October 1988 to October 1989, when it added another six main clinics. During the following month, November 1989, 36 sub-clinics were also opened. Table 6 presents this data in detail.

From Table 4 we can make comparisons between months before and after the television campaign, excluding any impact of the number of clinics during the period October 1988 - October 1989. We can compare numbers of clients in the month preceding the first campaign (October 1988) to the month immediately following it (February

Table 6

CSI monthly clients, number of clinics and campaign schedule (October 1988 - July 1990)[27]

Month	Number of New FP Clients	Number of All CSI Clients	Number Of Clinics	Television Advertising
OCT 1988	84	434	6	None
NOVEMBER	217	822	6	SPOTS 1 & 2
DECEMBER	670	2,107	6	SPOTS 1 & 2
JAN 1990	620	2,504	6	SPOTS 1 & 2
FEB	585	2,384	6	NONE
MARCH	597	2,699	6	NONE
APRIL	395	2,050	6	NONE
MAY	616	2,572	6	SPOT 1
JUNE	873	3,274	6	SPOT 1
JULY	769	3,071	6	SPOT 1
AUGUST	919	3,345	6	SPOT 1
SEPTEMBER	999	3,869	6	NONE
OCTOBER	1,259	4,653	12	NONE
NOVEMBER	2,326	7,349	12 + 36	SPOTS 1, 2 & 3
DECEMBER	4,123	12,133	12 + 36	SPOTS 1, 2 & 3
JAN 1990	4,938	15,723	12 + 36	SPOTS 1, 2 & 3
FEBRUARY	4,491	15,796	12 + 36	NONE
MARCH	4,691	18,546	12 + 36	SPOT 4
APRIL	2,218	10,017	12 + 36	NONE
MAY	5,35	19,991	12 + 36	SPOTS 3 & 4
JUNE	4,898	19,154	12 + 36	SPOTS 3 & 4
JULY	4,726	18,874	12 + 36	NONE

1989), and we can compare the numbers of April 1989, before the second campaign to those of September 1989, after the campaign. However, we need to note that February may not be a representative month, since it had only 28 days in 1989. Also April is not a representative month, because it coincided with the month of Ramadan when fasting women are reluctant to have physical exams or check-ups during the daytime since this may nullify their fasting. We will, therefore, take the month in the middle of the two, March, to be a more representative month of this period, thus controlling the seasonal fluctuations (Ramadan) and the number of days in the month.

An analysis of data on registered clients during this period shows an increase due to the media campaign, the greatest percentage being at the start of the programme. Thus, the number of all clients increased from 434 in October 1988 to 822 in one month, and increased to 2,699 during March 1989, which is about 700% increase. The number of new family planning clients increased from 84 clients in October 1988 to 217 during the following month, and this new figure was tripled over another month. In March 1989, the monthly number of new family planning clients had reached 597, which is more than 7 times the October 1988 number of clients.

The second campaign was launched between May and August 1989, and we can, again, compare monthly numbers of clients before and after this campaign. The number of all registered clients jumped from the March figure of 2,699 to 3,869 in September 1989 and the number of new family planning clients increased from 597 during March to 999 during September 1989. This is an increase of 44 and 67 percent respectively.

Unfortunately, we could not make similar comparisons for 1990, because the two months when the campaign stopped were February and April, which were excluded in our analysis for reasons explained above. Another difficulty arises from the fact that the intensive media campaign at the end of 1989 coincided with opening the new centres, thus making it impossible to isolate the relative impact of the campaign. However, we can notice the steady increases in client numbers as the campaign continues from one month to another, and we can even see a small drop in numbers when the campaign stopped in July 1990.

Summary and Conclusion

This paper has presented different kinds of data which all support the argument that television advertising is a powerful tool for social development. The data presented include census data on infant and child mortality, data on knowledge, attitudes and practices and data on numbers of clients attending family planning centres. The paper also discussed three media campaigns in Egypt where television has been very effective in increasing knowledge, changing attitudes and behaviours relating to public health in Egypt. ❑

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